

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS  
FAR EAST COMMAND  
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

CIVIL INTELLIGENCE SECTION

SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART XVI

"PLANS FOR NEW PARTY SIMMER"

(19 Aug - 28 Oct 1938)

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THE SAIONJI - HARADA MEMOIRS

PART SIXTEEN: PLANS FOR NEW PARTY SIMMER

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Chapter 287  
(19 August 1938)

Increasing Naxity Bemoaned

Translated by Lt. Fujio Asano

After that, I went to the Premier's official residence and met Premier KONO E. I reported that I had gone to see Prince SAIONJI. After discussing sundry topics I returned home.

On the morning of the 13th, I had MIYAKE Shotaro, a Justice of the Supreme Court, come to my home and listened to what he had to say. He urged: "The Justice Ministry needs drastic reform. Many Justice Ministers of recent times, have been persons of extreme irresponsibility."

At noon, I lunched with Capt. TAKAGI of the Navy. TAKAGI was greatly elated over the fact that the border dispute (between Soviet Russia and Manchukuo) had been peacefully settled. He said: "What we (the Navy) need now is a powerful statesman (for the Navy Minister). The maintenance of discipline, etc., all depends upon the personality and character of the Minister." TAKAGI related several stories about the former Premier (Admiral) KATO Tomosaburo. He spoke about the fact that Adm. KATO was a great man of indomitable will. TAKAGI said: "At the time when Adm. KATO was the Navy Minister, the practice of providing semi-annual bonuses to employees in mid-August and late-December was generally established by commercial corporations. Emulating this, the Government also decided to institute the bonus system. When the document pertaining to this matter reached Adm. NAGANO, who was then the senior adjutant, he placed it on the desk of Minister KATO. When Minister KATO saw it, he



### Increasing Laxity Bemoaned

vehemently threw it on the floor. He exclaimed: 'I hate this sort of thing.' Senior adjutant NAGANO was vexed by this; nevertheless, he picked up the document and replaced it on a stack of other documents on Minister KATO's desk. About an hour elapsed while NAGANO wondered what would happen. Then, Minister KATO, without a word, glanced over the document, and seeing that the seals (of approval) of bureau chiefs and section chiefs had been stamped on the document suddenly planted his seal (of approval) on it, and without saying anything, handed it to NAGANO.

"At the time KATO was Navy Minister, the British Navy was contemplating conducting naval maneuvers off the coast of Formosa and requested the Navy Ministry for permission for its maneuvers. Thereupon, officials of the Navy General Staff and Navy Ministry of the rank of captain and commander, without giving the matter serious consideration, replied to the British: 'We have no objections to your maneuvers.' The matter was reported to Minister KATO, who listened quietly without a word. Thereupon, KATO severely rebuked the officer who reported the matter to him, saying: 'Underlings should not decide this sort of important matters arbitrarily.'

"Adm. SUZUKI Kantaro was then the commander of a fleet. At that time, because of the fact that the proposed Eight-Eight Fleet plan (the 8-battleship and 8-battle-cruiser fleet-formation plan) had to be discarded (as a result of the Washington Naval Disarmament Treaty), fleets had to be reorganized on a 2-battleship fleet basis - although it was categorically considered that a fleet must be organized with at least three or more battleships. Thereupon, Fleet-Commander SUZUKI Kantaro



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hastened to Tokyo and vigorously protested to Minister KATO: 'Only two battleships couldn't form the mainstay of a fleet. In other words, a 2-battleship fleet-formation would always be a straight-line formation, which would be undesirable for strategic reasons. A fleet must by all means comprise at least three battleships.' Navy Minister KATO, who had been listening to this silently, said to Fleet-Commander SUZUKI: 'Then, this means that you cannot execute your duties as a Fleet-Commander. I can do nothing but relieve you from your post.' Minister KATO made no further comment. Adm. SUZUKI left without saying anything further. However, SUZUKI was not shifted from his post. These are the ways in which KATO handled delicate situations. He possessed the characteristic of maintaining authority and prestige simultaneously. This kind of anecdote about such a powerful Minister like KATO will be especially recalled at the present-time when the discipline in the Army and Navy are rather lax."

Late in the evening of the 14th, I went to Karuizawa and stayed there until the afternoon of the 18th. I met IZAWA Takio and GOTO Fumio several times. KOZAKA Junzo also came to see me; he was worried, as we were, over the laxity of the police towards suppressing the Rightists (ultra-nationalists). KOZAKA had special cause for worry; his son-in-law, the son of Dr. MINOBE, had been taken into custody by the police on the charge of being implicated in the "University Professors' Thought Incident", and has been detained by the police for over six months without any prospect of being placed on trial. KOZAKA lamented: "I believe he would be exonerated if he (son-



### Increasing Laxity Bemoaned

in-law) would be placed on trial. So far, the police are only harassing him (by senseless interrogation). This is an extremely deplorable situation."

IZAWA and GOTO were much concerned over Premier KONOYE's vacillation on important issues and his ill-disposed attitude towards government officials. They were also worried over KONOYE's attitude regarding the Planning Bureau, etc. IZAWA was especially angry and he said: "The proposed National-Mobilization Bill would outrageously violate the spirit of the Constitution."

I (HARADA) said to IZAWA: "I am extremely worried over the fact that KONOYE is not well-disposed towards the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, YUASA Kurahei." IZAWA is on fairly intimate terms with KONOYE, so I asked him to admonish KONOYE on the aforementioned matters.

I returned to Tokyo on the morning of the 18th. On the morning of the 19th, I met Premier KONOYE; he gave me an interim report of the China policy under deliberation by the Five Ministers' Conference. During our discussion, we were frequently interrupted by visitors (to Premier KONOYE) and consequently were unable to have a satisfactory talk. We agreed to meet again next week and discuss the matter leisurely.



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Chapter 288  
(28 August 1938)

Fears of Right-Wing Grow

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

In the evening, I met the Minister and Vice Minister at the Navy Minister's official residence. For two hours, we discussed the right-wing. Navy Minister YONAI said that the right-wing only pressed for money and made a lot of noise, but it wasn't serious. He seemed to consider them very lightly. Therefore, I related actual instances of their interferences and the actual harm they had done. The Navy Minister said: "In any event, I shall be very careful. I shall keep posted on the matter as much as possible and consider the matter."

When I met the Foreign Minister for a short while on the 20th, Ambassador SATO came up in our conversation. When I had met Ambassador SATO the other day at Karuizawa, the Ambassador had said: "I cannot say it myself, but, if necessary, I do not object to going to England. I am not saying that I want to go. However, I think it will be very difficult to send MATSUDAIRA to London. It's funny for me to say so about myself, but when it comes to some other person who knows the most people in England, or in Europe as a whole, I think I am that person. I would really like to remain in Japan, but if I can be of any service or if it is necessary for the nation, I will go." I told the Foreign Minister about this.

At noon, I asked Gen. ABE to come, and we had lunch together at my home. Our conversation was also about the Army and the right-wing. I said: "Just how War Minister ITAGAKI deals with the right-wing, as War Minister, is a very dangerous matter. Please explain this point to the War Minister." ABE replied: "ITAGAKI has said to me: 'Please warn me about various matters.' He sometimes comes to ask me about things. I shall tell him what the actual situation is." In Gen. ABE's



### Fears of Right-Wing Grow

conversation, he stated: "The fact that the Emperor took a severe stand at the time of this incident at Changkufeng (near the Manchukuo and Korea border) was a very good lesson for the new War Minister and also had a great deal of effect on the young officers."

I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. We talked about matters in general. There was nothing in particular to take up.

On the 21st, I went to Hakone and met Finance Minister IKEDA. We ate together and talked for about three hours. He said: "I am really distressed concerning control of the right-wing. The Home Minister and the Education Minister have rightist ideas, and even if you speak of control, it cannot be carried out thoroughly. When the Premier or the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal meets the Home Minister, they should speak strongly to him. Otherwise, there is no other way but to have the Emperor talk to the Home Minister. We are always telling him, but it doesn't seem to sink home. We would like to give this point considerable thought and do something about it. Even if we make a fuss, the Premier must also feel the same way. However, I don't think the Premier has that much intent." He was worried.

On the morning of the 22nd, I went to Gotemba and saw Prince SAIONJI. I gave him a general report on matters until now. Prince SAIONJI said: "This is extremely ominous, but when the Ming Dynasty fell, there were many men of intelligence. However, they all kept quiet, and there was no unity. The fact that there was no liaison was the weak point. It is extremely bad to let the officers of the Army spread word around and let them do as they please concerning their words and actions." I stated: "I shall gather four or five people like the former Home Minister and the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board



### Fears of Right-Wing Grow

in a way that will not cause trouble for you. I shall explain matters thoroughly to them. I do not know whether it will be of any avail, but I would like to caution them."

I remained in Hakone until the 23rd. At Hakone, I met friends of Gen. KOISO. I asked them about various things. They said: "Gen. KOISO is very prudent now." Gen. ABE also told me the same thing the other day and had said: "When Gen. KOISO returns from his trip, I shall meet him leisurely and tell him to be cautious."

On the 24th, I returned to Tokyo. Departing on the night of the 25th, I went to Karuizawa. I met GOTO Fumio and discussed many matters. GOTO was also very worried and said: "Regarding this right-wing problem, please call together the four of us, FUJINUMA, USHIO, KAWARADA and me, and please explain matters fully." I, therefore, decided to assemble these people and talk to them.

On the night of the 26th, YAMAMOTO Tatsuo; SATO Hisatake, HARA Yoshimichi and I had dinner together, but there was no important discussion.

At noon, on the 27th, I met TSUGITA. TSUGITA stated: "I think that the right-wing problem cannot be solved unless HIRANUMA is ostracized from society. No matter what is said, the fact that a person like HIRANUMA holds the position that he does, is very bad. This problem takes precedence over everything. I think it's impossible for the KONOYE Cabinet to do it. Therefore, someone who has that much determination must form the next Cabinet. The right-wing isn't anything serious. The group is made of persons who will shrivel up if one or two are arrested. Only, it is bad that money is given them at present, and they are being adulated."

That evening, KONOYE, Governor YUKI of the Bank of Japan, and I were invited to YAMASHITA's villa and had dinner together.



Fears of Right-Wing Grow

KONOYE talked about problems concerning finance and economy and also China; that is, how to conclude this war situation. KONOYE stated: KERR, the British Ambassador to China, has brought terms to Minister TANI which seem too advantageous to Japan and has said: 'If Japan will accept these, I am confident of persuading CHIANG Kai Shek.' However, it would be a calamity if we accept this and are betrayed just when we think that China might surrender. And yet, it would also be distressing if we were dragged on, and were pulled increasingly deeper into the interior, thinking they would surrender. It may be that we will have to deal with CHIANG Kai Shek in certain circumstances and bring matters to a close. This point is still being studied."

Governor YUKI stated: "The ¥3,000,000,000 public loan bonds are being digested until they are practically gone. This situation in finances is beyond imagination. According to the way it is handled, I think it's safe for a little while longer. However, I think it would be better to bring the war situation to a close as soon as possible. Those who are abroad cannot conceive the situation in the homeland, and it's no wonder that they worry. Only, it is very distressing that the right-wing and the Army flatly rejected the growing promise of Americans that they would invest capital in Manchuria, or that they insensibly checked the import of foreign capital."

KONOYE also stated: "Recently, many Japanese capitalists have deposited money abroad. University instructors like HASHIZUME have started a rumor that this money exceeds several hundred millions, and have gone to the Yamagata region and have given speeches attacking the 'saibatsu'. The officers and regimental commander of the Yamagata regiment went to listen. The regimental commander at that time was a Colonel



### Fears of Right-Wing Grow

named HANAYA. He was the first to applaud and such a situation is distressing. Finance Minister IKEDA worried greatly about this. He sent the Vice Minister of Finance to that region to explain that those were not the actual facts. However, they wouldn't listen. The aim is to overthrow the 'zaibatsu', and normally, they wouldn't listen even if it were explained. In any rate, the Finance Ministry is taking pains to let the more intelligent know the true facts. When I consider these matters, I think that it is the weak point of this Cabinet that the police doesn't control these discussions of the University instructors which disturb the people's minds and slander the capitalists. Instructor HASHIZUME is on a kind of black-list. He is the person who started the recent university incident in conjunction with TOMITA, the Chief of the Police Bureau, and is very troublesome." We chatted until late and parted.

At 9:30 the next morning, I went to KONOYE's villa. I told him: "I wanted to have GOTO think up ways to carry out measures against the right-wing, and so I talked to GOTO. He said: 'Won't you get about four or five people together and tell us the points which are of concern?' I do not know whether it will have any effect. However, it is very necessary to have men of intelligence prepared, as much as possible, against these rumors and movements of the right-wing. I think it would be well if anything in that line could be done. I didn't want you to think that I was carrying on secretly, and I am telling you about it first. KONOYE said: "Men of intelligence are all weak, and I don't think they'll be of any use. The intelligentsia class, especially, doesn't have any enthusiasm. KAWARADA has talked of a round-table discussion of the state of affairs, and GOTO has said many things. However, not one of them has materialized. The right-wing is much more



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advanced. They have a united front and it is dangerous unless we are pretty firm."

KONOYE also told me that TOMITA, the former Chief of the Police Bureau, had come to his place the other day and had intimidated him. KONOYE said: "He told me: 'There may be circumstances in which you might become the victim. We don't want to make you the victim, but depending on the circumstances, it might be unavoidable.' He threatened me quite a bit. I told him: 'If I am attacked, that's fate and can't be helped.' If I am to continue, I must make something that will include the whole right-wing, or I can't go on." I thought that the substance and means of including the right-wing would give rise to quite serious connections, and I came home, a little worried.

In the afternoon of that Sunday, I returned to Tokyo. Monday morning, that is, the morning of the 29th, I met KIDO.



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Chapter 289  
(31 August 1938)

Coping with Right-Wingers

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

I said to KIDO: "The fact that we are too lax with the right-wing today means that we are giving them unexpected power. I think that matters may get out of control. Do you intend to become firm about them some time? I am very worried. I would like to assemble persons like KAWARADA, GOTO, USHIO and FUJINUMA, who have held police posts of heavy responsibility. While dining, I would like to consult them and ask: 'Is there some way to check the Home Minister so that he won't proceed on a mistaken course? In other words, is there a way of guiding him so that he can fulfill his heavy responsibility as Home Minister?' Properly speaking, I think that KONOYE should, as Premier, teach him the road to follow. However, KONOYE has no determination, and you say that it's useless. Even if it is, I shall put aside, as another question, whether it will have any effect or not, and I am thinking of trying it out. I would like to you to know of this. I don't intend to do anything conspicuously, nor do I intend to do it saying that it is the idea of Prince SAIONJI. I am only going to consult them because of my anxiety for the nation and society, and I want you to be aware of this." I also told KIDO that I had already related the matter to KONOYE.

I mentioned that MATSUDAIRA had said: "Recently, notices for lecture meetings on national interest in Russia, have gone up in different places. When you look at the speakers at one or two of these lectures, you find that they are all offenders from the Shimpei-tai. In short, they had been imprisoned until recently. They spoke ill of the KONOYE Cabinet and said that the Premier was pedantic. They have even stated



### Coping with Right-Wingers

that KONOYE eats unnecessary lunches. The state of slander and abuse is extreme. It's one thing if you are letting them carry on like this and have the determination to take them in hand on some later occasion, but what about it?" KIDO told me: "It would be distressing if the right-wing became uncontrollable. At present, we are letting them bombast us to their heart's content while we watch. However, I have talked to KONOYE suggesting that we must stop them on some occasion." KIDO was aware of the fact that TOMITA, the former Chief of the Police Bureau, had advised KONOYE to resign, and had threatened him as if to say: "If you don't resign, you will be killed."

KIDO stated: "KONOYE and I talked and he said: 'When the emergency arises, let us quell them determinedly. It doesn't matter if we are killed or what happens on that occasion. Isn't it better than to die a common death on the mat?' KONOYE's determination is quite strong." I have a great respect for the efforts of KIDO who has developed KONOYE's determination to that extent. KIDO said: "There is no use dealing with the Home Minister. KONOYE and I shall call the Chief of the Police Bureau and the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board, and we shall gradually tell them something about the substance of the Five Ministers' Conference. It is better to be prepared before the change in foreign policy. We shall determine the policy of control at the Cabinet meeting. If the Home Minister won't obey, then it's all right for the Home Minister to resign at that time. We shall first try to enlighten them as much as possible, and let them carry on in case of an emergency."

I left KIDO's place and went to the Foreign Ministry around 11:30. There, I met the Foreign Minister. He was also very worried about the right-wing. KONOYE had asked me at



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Karuizawa: "Before you go to Gotemba, please meet the Foreign Minister and ask about the Japan-Germany Military Pact." I told the Foreign Minister about this. Foreign Minister UGAKI stated: "This is a problem which had been discussed previously between OSHIMA and RIBBENTROP. Recently, Germany made a plan and sent it to us. Generally speaking, it called for immediate participation in war and there was no limitation as to the scope or to the opposing nations. In general, Japan was to participate immediately, in case Germany finally went to war with a third nation. The scope was extremely wide, and its force was quite strong. Therefore, we stated as our first condition: 'Immediate participation is distressing. We would like to decide after a conference.' The second condition was: 'The opponent must be a Communistic nation, and the sphere must be limited to Europe and the Far East. Naturally, places like the United States must be omitted. In order not to hurt the feelings of England and the United States, we want to lessen incitements as much as possible.'"

I told the Foreign Minister: "KONOYE told me at Karuizawa that KERR, the British Ambassador to China, submitted far more advantageous terms to Minister TANI than Japan had decided some time ago as peace terms advantageous to Japan. He stated: 'If Japan will accept this, that is, if she has the intention of accepting, I shall gladly fly to Hankow. I am confident that I can work for peace upon meeting CHIANG Kai Shek.' Premier KONOYE said that if we jump to this, peace might be made, but other anti-Japanese activities might start. If this promise is broken, the matter would become irredeemable. The matter must be considered quite prudently. We shall watch developments a little while longer. And yet, while we are saying that China will probably surrender soon, we might be dragged on, and it would be distressing if we were pulled in



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so deeply that we couldn't do anything. If we suddenly turn to peace saying that the terms are very good, the consequences are worrisome. The Premier must take a very cautious attitude as to which policy would be better, and it is at present, under consideration." I also told him what was going on at Gotemba. The Foreign Minister was considering that point very prudently.

In the afternoon, I visited the Navy Minister at his official residence. Together with the Vice Minister, the three of us discussed many matters. I told them about the problem of the right-wing and what KIDO had said. The Navy Vice Minister stated: "The best thing is for the Premier to teach SUETSUGU. If the Premier comes out and tells SUETSUGU straight to his face: 'Do it', he will certainly do it. He is comparatively simple and will surely obey. Since the Premier brought him along saying: 'It must be he', why shouldn't the Premier work him as he pleases?" The Navy Minister was of the same opinion. YAMAMOTO, the Vice Minister, stated: "We are troubled because it is so difficult to get the Premier to reach that decision. If KONOHE and KIDO try to guide the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board and the Chief of the Police Bureau, by-passing the Minister, it would be a kind of breach of discipline. Such a thing is outrageous." In any event, unless concrete facts against the right-wing are indicated to the Navy Minister, it doesn't seem to make any impression in his mind. He disposes the matter simply by saying: "Why not quell them with determination?" Yet, it cannot be handled quite like that. I explained to them fully, that a great deal of preparation is necessary before matters proceed that far.

I departed on the morning of the 30th and went to Gotemba. On the train, I met EGUCHI, Teijo. He stated: "AMAU, the Minister to Switzerland, sent a telegram to the Foreign Minister saying: 'The problem of China must be settled while Europe is



### Coping with Right-Wingers

in a muddle. If you wait until Europe settles down, there is much apprehension that Europe and America, together, might interfere with Japan. I think it would be more advantageous to solve the Japan-China problem while Europe is in confusion. Since Foreign Minister UGAKI had not seen the telegram (according to HIGUCHI Teijo), I found out about it and warned the Foreign Minister."

I went to Gotohba and made a general report to Prince SAIONJI. Prince SAIONJI said: "Since anti-government people are prevalent, I guess nothing can be done no matter what is said. Great caution is required concerning the problem of foreign relations with Germany..It will be disadvantageous to Japan's position to make our feelings toward England and the United States much worse." He worried about this very much. He added: "Various statements are made about the right-wing, but the knowledge of the people is very scant. In short, the Japanese people are too low, and the polish or the progress of knowledge of the Japanese people is insufficient. This is truly distressing. I don't know what they have been teaching, but I guess the educational policy since the Meiji era was bad." He lamented this. Prince SAIONJI was reading the memoirs of HANOTAUX, non-partisan Foreign Minister of France. Prince SAIONJI had been in France at that time and was well acquainted with him. Since he knew him well, there were many acquaintances and friends of Prince SAIONJI appearing in the content. He was reading it with great enjoyment and said: "It is very well written."



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Chapter 290  
(7 September 1938)

Army Sounds Out Navy

Translated by Lt. Larry Nishihara

I met KIDO on the 3rd and he said: "There was nothing of much importance at today's cabinet council."

In the evening, I met Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO at the official residence of the Navy Minister. I had previously heard that Navy Minister YONAI would issue some sort of statement at today's cabinet council, so I asked about this matter. YAMAMOTO said: "There was no especially clear-cut statement, but at the Five Ministers' Conference, the Navy Minister said: 'Hostilities will be ended by the end of this year. This matter of not negotiating with CHIANG Kai-shek is very contradictory. If the general situation is to be cleared up within this year, then CHIANG must be recognized in order to bring hostilities to an end. If he is not to be recognized, then there is no telling when this matter will end. If this matter is not cleared up within this year and should last until the next, or the one after that, will we be able to endure it financially?' The Navy Minister addressed this last remark to the Finance Minister and the Finance Minister replied: 'That would be a great source of trouble.' The Five Ministers' Conference is progressing with investigations on national and foreign affairs. They discussed such things as: 'Should some measures be taken to recognize CHIANG and solve this matter within this year?' They also discussed: 'In order to lead the administration to the ways of peace, let us veer sharply and change it from an attitude of ignoring CHIANG to that of considering him.'"



### Army Sounds Out Navy

Later, I met Premier KONOYE and he said: "Foreign Minister UGAKI interferes in personnel affairs. It was my intention to send SAITO to London, but he expressed a desire to remain in Japan so I acceded to his wishes and sent SHIGEMITSU to London. TOGO was sent to Russia and Maj. Gen. OSHIMA was placed on the reserve list and appointed the Ambassador to Germany. SHIRATORI will be sent to Italy. HOTTA will be relieved and will be sent to the United States and SAITO will return. SAWADA (the younger brother) will be appointed the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs."

I met UGAKI later and he said: "When Ambassador YOSHIDA returns, wouldn't it be all right for him to resign?" I replied that there would not be any objections. It was rumored that the recent pending problem of the Foreign Ministry, that of the adviser to UGAKI, had been settled as SATO. It was also said that ARITA would be included, so I expressed my doubts as to whether he would accept or not and the Foreign Minister had replied: "I intend to have someone go and explain the matter to ARITA."

I did not discuss the matter of a successor because I had not spoken to Minister UGAKI concerning this matter very much, and I left the matter as it was. However, because the Foreign Minister is a military man, he believes that it is permissible to decide upon something by giving an order and immediately announcing the results. UGAKI said: "Up until the present, I had not been aware of the fact that matters would be delayed. This was due to the fact that there was such trouble gaining the understanding of the government of the country of residence,



### Army Sounds Out Navy

after consent was once obtained in the matter of the personnel of the Foreign Ministry."

I went to Oiso on the night of the 3rd and met Finance Minister IKEDA there on the 4th. I listened to IKEDA's views of the right-wing and regarding the slowness of assuming control by the Home Minister, he said that it was very troubling. Concerning the matter of the transfer of personnel within the Foreign Ministry, IKEDA said: "I guess that I will have to state that it was carried out well. However, I am a novice and I really do not understand such matters."

Previously, I had informed the Prince that UGAKI had said: "If I should mention anything about the suppression of the right-wing, it would seem that I, who am already watched, am being forced to say such things and this would be very disagreeable." To this, the Prince had replied: "On the contrary, that would be fine. He could say that he does not want to be killed by such people because he has a great responsibility at present, and if he were to be killed now, he would not be able to serve the Emperor. By this, he would be able to demand a stricter measure of control." I told IKEDA of this incident and also told him: "Since you are also being eyed by them, you may as well push the matter of the suppression or the control of the right-wing."

On the 5th, MATSUDAIRA came to Oiso and said: "When KONOYE was received in audience by the Emperor, he said that there was nothing of importance to be mentioned to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. However, the Emperor summoned the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal later and said that Prince CHICHIBU had come the



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other day and said: 'It is the desire of the younger members of the Army General Staff Headquarters that the war be terminated at once.' The Emperor immediately summoned His Highness, the Chief of the Army General Staff, and asked: 'I have heard that the younger men at headquarters desire that the war be ended. Is this the desire of all the members of the General Staff Headquarters?' His Highness, the Chief of Staff, replied: 'There are those who desire peace and those who say that it must not come immediately. There are even those who are opposed to the idea.' The Emperor then asked: 'Cannot the entire body be united for peace?' His Highness replied: 'When there are two such opposite opinions, there is no alternative but to await developments by leaving them as they are.' The Emperor then said: 'If the civil administration should make it their policy to wait, then what would the General Staff Headquarters propose to do?' His Highness replied: 'If it comes to such a state of affairs, then we will also follow that plan.'

"The origin of this exchange of opinions, came from the fact that the Premier had asked the Emperor to inquire as to the attitude of the Army concerning a peace movement. KONOYE did not inform the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal of these facts, but the Emperor had told him all about it. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: 'The reason KONOYE did not speak of this matter to me is because he wanted to guard its secrecy.' It seemed as if he was very glad (original text: although this smacks of cynicism) over the fact that KONOYE is thinking of secrecy and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal spoke to me (MATSUDAIRA) about this."



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Prince CHICHIBU reports to the Emperor, concerning the affairs of the General Staff Headquarters, even to the extent of the moves of ISHIHARA. According to the contents of the matter, they may be good and again, they may be bad.

Previously, even I (HARADA) had informed Prince CHICHIBU that it was not a very good thing for members of the Imperial Household to meddle in affairs of personnel. However, although he does not interfere with personnel affairs in general, concerning the Army, he has a tendency to do so in the case of conspicuous people such as ISHIHARA.

I returned to Tokyo on the 6th. On the 5th, the Chief of the Army General Staff, the Chief of the Navy General Staff and the Premier had gone to the Palace. Concerning this affair, I wanted to inquire of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal if there had been anything of importance attached to it, but I was unable to meet the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Therefore, I asked his Chief Secretary and he said that there had been nothing of importance. I surmised that it might have been the Canton problem.

I met Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO that day and he said: "The Army General Staff asked the Navy General Staff: 'We desire to bring matters to a peaceful close. Just what is the opinion of the Navy?' This meant that the hostilities should be stopped and peace movements undertaken. The Navy replied: 'In principle, we agree. However, to do this immediately, well, there are opponents and certain measures are necessary. Therefore, we cannot, unless these measures are taken first.' The Deputy



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Chief of the Navy General Staff replied to the Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff: 'If the Navy General Staff gives their approval on this problem, then both Their Highnesses, the Chiefs of Staff, should report this matter to the Emperor. The Navy considers matters such as the declaration of war or the concluding of peace, as affairs of state. Therefore, the General Staff Headquarters should have this matter explained to the War and Navy Ministers. They, in turn, should take this up with the Premier and the Premier should present this to the Emperor. I believe that this presentation by the Premier, or in other words, by the Cabinet, is suitable.'"

Immediately, I went to visit Foreign Minister UGAKI at the Foreign Ministry and he said: "The other day, the War Minister came and demanded an immediate reply from me on the advisability of the capture of Canton. Because of this, I invited the Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff over yesterday and asked him about this. He said: 'Hostilities should be terminated as soon as possible. The Board of Field Marshals and Fleet Admirals are united.' It seemed that if I had made an immediate reply, a conference in the presence of the Emperor would have been held. Therefore I replied: 'We are just attempting to solve the pending problem and I would like to have that matter dealt with after it is over.' This will probably be carried out shortly after the attack on Hankow. Again, it might be later. It might occur around the middle of October, but the War Minister said: 'This will be carried out within the limits of the present budget and we will not trouble the Finance Minister with a



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demand for a special budget. I want this matter kept secret with the understanding of the War, Navy and Foreign Ministers and the Premier."

Later, I heard that the Board of Field Marshals and Fleet Admirals had arrived at a decision during a conference in the Imperial presence regarding the Canton occupation on the morning of the 7th, as a policy framework for their Board. On the morning of the 7th, SAWADA came over and expressed his views on the situation within the Foreign Ministry and other matters.

The Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal who also came over that day said: "This is strictly confidential. Prince CHICHIBU met the Emperor and said: 'The Army General Staff seems to be in quite a rush concerning the peace question. Therefore, I believe that if Your Majesty summoned Their Highnesses, the Chiefs of Staff and also the Premier, and gave them some command concerning peace movements,....' Although not as conference, the Emperor told the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal very lightly: 'Prince CHICHIBU came over and said such things, but I did not make any reply....' The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: 'In the case of requests from the proper sources, they should be taken up. That is, requests from the Government, in other words, the Premier, must be taken up. I believe that it is not very good for you to do anything according to the suggestions of a member of the Imperial Household.' The Emperor agreed with me."

On the evening of the 7th, KONOYE, KIDO, MATSUDAIRA and myself went to the Kuwana and we discussed various matters, but they were all very indefinite. The only



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matter over which everyone seemed concerned, was the method by which the peace movements would be realized.

I met KIDO on the morning of the 8th and went to visit the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at the Palace. He said: "His Majesty is in excellent health and this present situation has not affected it in the least. His Majesty's attitude in this situation is a splendid thing and we are filled with awe. Please advise the Prince not to worry about it." Furthermore, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "It is necessary to have closer relationship among the members of the Cabinet." There were other matters, but they were all uncertain things.

At a little past 11:00, I visited Ambassador ARITA at his private residence in Mojiro and he said: "There was something I wished to discuss with you. The fact is that Foreign Minister UGAKI told me: 'Please become an adviser to the Foreign Ministry.' It was said that only SATO and myself would become advisers. However, it was said that it was not to have us advise them, but the main point was to have us participate in the various affairs. I have some arguments on this point and I am being very careful...." I (HARADA) replied: "If they are asking that you help them at this time, then I believe that you should accept. This is a special case...." Ambassador ARITA then said: "There have been some people who have urged me saying such things, but I have heard that the relationship between the Premier and the Foreign Minister is not very good. How true is this?" I then said: "There is no need to concern yourself over such things. If there is such a state of affairs, then you should intervene and improve relations between them." I then



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left him.

At noon, Ambassador SATO, MATSUDAIRA and I had lunch at my place. We discussed many subjects and it seems as if Ambassador SATO intends to accept. It seems as if he had his opinions, and said this and that, but it seems that he will accept.

At 2:00, I met Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO at the official residence of the Navy Minister. Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO said: "Again yesterday (7th), the Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff came to see the Deputy Chief of the Naval General Staff and immediately brought up the matter of the peace movements and inquired as to the Navy's opinion. The Navy General Staff Headquarters inquired of the Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff: 'Of course, we are in agreement with the general principles, but is that the opinion of a part of the General Staff or of the entire body?' The Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff replied: 'The General Staff Headquarters of the Army is entirely united,' and it seemed as if he was trying to explain something with some explanatory documents.

"The Deputy Chief of the Naval General Staff again asked: 'How about the War Ministry?' The reply was that the War Ministry was also in agreement. However, this situation did not seem so clear. If the Army General Staff Headquarters, the War Ministry, the central quarters of the Army at home and abroad agree, then the Navy is not against cooperating. However, it has always been the case, that if the central quarters of the Army at home decided upon some matter, then the quarters abroad would object; also that if the General Staff Headquarters agreed, then the War Ministry would be opposed to it.



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Because the main factor behind the settlement of the China problem is the Army, the entire Army must agree or this problem cannot be settled.

"Concerning the matter of the immediate peace movement, it is clear that most of the nation is embittered against continuing this war uselessly. Not only in this respect is it clear, but among the troops stationed overseas and among the families of these men, there are those who desire that hostilities be ceased as soon as possible. Therefore, without unity within the Army, it would be very difficult to lead the way to peace. The Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff ardently advocated: 'It will be fine if CHIANG is recognized. In such a case, it would be well if a third power intervened. At any rate, immediate peace is the objective.' The Deputy Chief of the Navy General Staff then asked why there was all that fuss and the Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff replied: 'Even if Canton and Hankow are captured, there is no indication that CHIANG will submit. Therefore, if such is to be the case, it will be a very disadvantageous situation for Japan because she will be drawn unnecessarily into the interior of China. Looking back at the facts, public sentiment has taken a turn for the worse and from the living problems of the unemployed, much anti-war sentiment has arisen. If matters should gradually become more difficult, from the standpoint of both internal and foreign policy, I thought that it would be best to arrive at a conclusion to sign peace as soon as possible.' Furthermore, the Deputy Chief of the Navy General Staff said: 'The Navy will begin cooperating only after they observe that the entire Army is unified. Leave some written matter behind.'



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The Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff took all the documents and said that he would show them at another time. Later, the Navy Minister said: 'Yesterday, the War Minister expressed a similar view to me. Perhaps the War Ministry is united in this matter.'" Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO relayed the above to me.

On the 9th, I visited the Prince at Gotemba and made a general report. I also reported the following statement made by the Premier to me: "The terms presented to Minister TANI by the former British Ambassador to China were very favorable. There is nothing to be concerned about over the Army, but I hesitated because if we should jump at this, we would be in difficulty if an anti-Japanese movement were started immediately afterward." To this the Prince replied: "If there were to be such a thing as an anti-Japanese movement, the British Government should have been made to assume the responsibility. This matter would have proceeded advantageously if we had taken their pledge and continued negotiations. Why didn't they have a third nation assume the responsibility? I wonder if the Premier is not capable of pushing through a matter. If this characteristic wavering of KONOYE can be changed he would become a good Premier.... There is no reason why he should not have known...."

Furthermore, concerning the peace movements, the Prince said: "This must not be the first time that they have considered that peace was essential, but it shows lack of wisdom." Regarding the recent condition of the Emperor, the Prince, recalling the report of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, was very glad over the wisdom and the attitude of the Emperor. He was, however,



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disappointed over the fact that the Emperor did not recognize the true significance of the trend of the times.



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Chapter 291  
(16 September 1938)

Konoye Sensitive to Ugaki

Translated by Lt. Larry Nishihara

On the morning of the 10th, AOKI Kazuo came over and said various things. Among them was: "The bureaucrats are generally opposed to the present cabinet. The younger members of the Bureau of Legislation are particularly firm on this matter. It seems as if the ability of the Foreign Minister is gradually being recognized. President TAKI is very troublesome, but I intend to do something about this."

From about 10:30 that morning, I visited KONOYE at his home in Ogikubo. We discussed many matters and KONOYE said: "Isn't there any way of resigning?" He seemed quite insistent about this matter and so I said: "You probably could not resign even with your illness, so for the time being, I think that there is no way out." KONOYE then said: "Wouldn't it be all right for me to change my position? If the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal should be taken ill, I could change to that position and KIDO could take over. After about a year of this, I could be excused."

KONOYE also complained: "Peace should be concluded as soon as possible. It will be very difficult. The Army is strongly demanding that peace be concluded. They are pressing for the hasty conclusion of this matter, but it is difficult to ascertain their true intentions." I then said: "According to the story of AOKI, who came to see me this morning, there is a deficiency of small arms in the Army." KONOYE replied: "Yes, that may be so, however, their true intentions cannot be ascertained." KONOYE continued: "I have met Navy Minister YONAI frequently of late, and he is a very intelligent man and of deep consideration. He is indeed an excellent admiral." It seemed as if the Premier had changed his opinion of the Navy



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Minister whom he had not recognized before.

Furthermore, KONOYE said: "Three or four days ago, Foreign Minister UGAKI invited some special correspondents to Hayama and entertained them. Rather jokingly, the Foreign Minister had them make a promise that what they discussed was not to be published. Among the matters which were discussed were the Changkufeng problem, the Japan-Germany Military Alliance, the matter of whether to start negotiations with the CHIANG Government, and the problem of concluding peace. These were all very confidential matters. These matters reached War Minister ITAGAKI and he summoned each one of the newspapermen individually to ascertain the facts. He had them join in the writing of the contents. After this, it was found that the contents were the same, so they were made to rewrite this again and present a copy to the War Minister. Using this material, the War Minister intended to cross-examine the Foreign Minister. When the War Minister brought this to the cabinet council, Navy Minister YONAI heard about this and told ITAGAKI: 'If you should question the Foreign Minister on this, and he should reply that he did not make such statements, that will be all there is. At any rate, it is better to give up such a plan.' Therefore, the matter ended with War Minister ITAGAKI not questioning UGAKI."

I then told the Premier that AOKI had told me: "This problem of a central control organ for China is the fruit of the efforts of Secretary KISHI. However, there is this matter of making the Premier president of the organization; this means that we are to do the work after the Premier has been made the president." Premier KONOYE then said: "Secretary KISHI is a very capable man. Moreover, I believe that he has spirit and is quite a man. However, he is quite young and often overdoes things. I believe that UGAKI is



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suitable for the presidency of the central control organ for China. Just because we have placed UGAKI in the cabinet, matters are not proceeding well with the Army."

I then said: "There will not be any case of HIRANUMA becoming the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, will there? If there should be such a case, we must stop it. This will constitute an inexcusable offense against the Emperor and I believe that it will have ill effects." KONOYE then said: "I will prohibit such things." Concerning KIDO, I said: "If I were in KIDO's position, I would make more clear-cut statements. However, KIDO is very reserved in front of you." KONOYE confirmed this statement and when I said that KIDO was a righteous man and that he had strong points, KONOYE again agreed with me. KONOYE concluded: "Whether I resign and HIRANUMA or UGAKI take over, I believe that KIDO will remain."

On the morning of the 11th, I went to KIDO's place and we talked of many things. KIDO was quite indignant and said: "Newspapermen, who are quite dissatisfied with UGAKI, came to my place and told me that UGAKI had said something against the Premier and myself when he called some correspondents over to Hayama. It is not too important, but he talks too much."

KIDO continued: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal decided everything according to law and if something occurs, he immediately forces the law upon the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Bureau and others. This shows that he does not understand the situation. There are some existing regulations which are not in keeping with the present age, and government cannot be carried out just by the application of laws. For instance, take the case of the February 26th Incident. Even this trial, which is being carried out in



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the name of the Emperor, is not progressing too well. I believe that he is not aware of the pains the judges and the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board take and it is an excessive demand to say that all matters be settled according to the applications of the law. I believe that this is where the Premier and he do not agree. The right-wing is also quite advanced and they cannot be dealt with in this manner." I (HARADA) then said: "That would be too loose a manner of dealing with the problem. That would make laws useless and the present regulations would have almost no value. First of all, it is an amusing story to say that the right-wing has advanced far and that they understand or that they do not understand. I still believe that it is necessary to settle matters according to laws up to a certain extent and to maintain order. I believe that this is true in any age or in any society."

We later discussed HIRANUMA and just as I had told KONOYE, I told KIDO: "HIRANUMA is aspiring to become the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. If such a thing is done, I believe that it will be a disservice. I hope that there will be nothing to be worried about." KIDO replied: "Such a thing will never be permitted to happen. Yesterday, when KONOYE, you and I met at the Kuwana, I called KONOYE into a separate room and KONOYE talked to me. The gist of what he had to say was that UGAKI showed KONOYE certain documents written by officials of the Foreign Ministry, disapproving the announcement of Jan. 16, and told KONOYE that he agreed with them. This, in other words, was disapproval of the methods of KONOYE and all but said that KONOYE should resign indirectly. There are those who criticise this as a move on the part of UGAKI to take over the reigns of government and KONOYE was quite wretched over it. This was what KONOYE told me at the Kuwana." By



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this, I was able to understand what had transpired at the Kuwana; something which MATSUDAIRA and I had discussed a few days ago. Later, I visited Vice Minister YAMAMOTO and I said: "The fact that Foreign Minister UGAKI expressed his views concerning the announcement of Jan. 16th, does not mean that he suggested anything to the Premier; but rather, it was his true intention to inform him." Vice Minister YAMAMOTO seemed to be of the same opinion and he said: "The Premier previously told me (YAMAMOTO): 'The announcement of the 16th was a failure.' The Premier declared this to the members of the cabinet and accordingly, Foreign Minister UGAKI's disapproval of this fact, together with those concerning foreign policy, were shown. I don't think that there is anything particularly worthy of mentioning." I then said: "I would like to have the Navy Minister act as an intermediary between the Foreign Minister and the Premier and exert his efforts to gain an understanding between them." Vice Minister YAMAMOTO said: "The Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs came last night and returned after explaining the reasons for the opposition of the Foreign Ministry against the plan of the Army and the Navy for the central control organ for China." I then told YAMAMOTO: "I called the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs recently and told him: 'The real facts cannot be ascertained when the Foreign Minister vaguely states that he is merely opposed to the plan for the central control organ for China. Therefore, I believe that you should go and see the Navy Minister, the Premier and other responsible members of the cabinet and explain this matter in a business-like way. You should directly explain why the Foreign Ministry is opposed to the plan; which points are the ones on which opposition is greatest; and to what extent the Foreign Ministry is willing



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to compromise. If matters are left merely with a vague reply such as opposition, then this might give rise to other problems and this would not be very favorable." YAMAMOTO then said: "Then, that must have been why he came to see me the other night."

Several days ago, the Prince (SAIONJI) had called me and asked that I come in the near future. On the night of the 11th, I went to Hakone and had supper at the Fujiya Hotel with Finance Minister IKEDA, and we spoke of many things until about 10:00 that night. I told Finance Minister IKEDA: "There seems to be considerable movement on the outside to slander and set the cabinet members at odds. I would like you to do something about this." I also told him of KIDO's and KONOYE's opinions regarding UGAKI, the incident of the newspapermen and UGAKI, etc. IKEDA seemed to be of the same opinion. He also said that he would try to do his best.

On the morning of the 12th, I went to Gotemba, met the Prince and reported all to him. The Prince told me that he had decided to return to Okitsu on the 18th and I again returned to Hakone.

On the night of the 13th, I invited the Foreign Affairs Section Chief and the Special Higher Police Section Chief of the Kanagawa Prefectural Government to dinner and we discussed many matters. They said: "There are no cases such as those mentioned by former Police Bureau Chief TOMITA to the Premier, not even among the front line officials of the Home Affairs Ministry or among the younger members of that Ministry. If we came out a little stronger against the right-wing, something will be done about them. At any rate, there is nothing to fear."

I talked with ARITA over the phone on the night of the 14th and he said: "The fact that Minister UGAKI assembled



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newspapermen at Hayama and discussed various matters has influenced various circles considerably. This is not very favorable."

Later, I received a letter from Captain TAKAGI (Navy) which went: "I have read a brief of the conversations of a certain cabinet member at Hayama. I am certain that the five subjects were not discussed by some other person. I am sure it is he." It seems as if Captain TAKAGI is also very concerned over this matter. Within the letter from Captain TAKAGI, a telegram was enclosed. This was the telegram sent to America by Chungking's H.H. KUNG, addressed to C.T. WANG on Sept. 5th and this was included as a reference.

The telegram stated:

"The President of the United States frequently proclaimed his espousal of the maintenance of peace in the world and the present can be considered the most appropriate opportunity.

England, France and Russia have been observing the actions of the United States for a long time. If the United States should beckon and seek mediation, then hostilities can be terminated and peace again restored. Our enemies have taken our strategic points and our allies have not come to our aid. Neither have they attempted to mediate and this is no different than being sunk in the depths of despair. If our nation is defeated by Japan, then this will be very disadvantageous toward the United States and the peace of the world will have received another great blow. Now is the time that we must consider the actions of the United States seriously. We must transmit matters in a delicate



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manner to the President and the important men who advise him. If there is no possible hope, then return home immediately. Secondly, we are in the process of obtaining U.S. agreement to the appointment of HU Shih as the Ambassador to the United States. Thirdly, the loan of \$100,000,000 from the United States, (according to an official message from H.H.KUNG) and the free use thereof; a 2-year deferment on the interest; for security; 50,000,000 oz. of pure silver; \$20,000,000 worth of foreign bonds; and \$50,000,000 worth of American securities (Floated in 1938). The assets of the three banks will be made into securities to be utilized as floating capital; however, the nation which would finance this is not known."

On the 15th, KONOYE visited the Prince at Gotemba as promised, and immediately returned to Tokyo.

On the morning of the 15th, I went to Tokyo; met MATSUDAIRA and listened to his views. MATSUDAIRA said: "The disunity of the cabinet is a source of worry. There are also those who propose to overthrow the KONOYE Cabinet, and because the general opinion of the officials is not very favorable toward the KONOYE Cabinet, perhaps they are having UGAKI do things to trouble KONOYE. At any rate, this is very troublesome."

I called the Premier from Oiso on the 16th and inquired as to the results of the meeting with the Prince. KONOYE said: "The Prince was in excellent health and if I had a little more time, I would have liked to have spoken to him at length, but I did not have the time."

Captain TAKAGI (Navy) had said: "Ambassador SHIRATORI told another Navy friend of his, also an ambassador: 'The



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administration is so unsteady that before I assume my post in Italy, I must ask the true intentions of the administration. Therefore, I asked KONOYE what he was going to do and the Premier replied that it was troublesome because the Navy was too conservative on the Italian question. He (KONOYE) also said that Vice Minister YAMAMOTO was the probable cause of this. The Premier also believed that the Imperial Household Minister was behind this." I inquired as to this problem of KONOYE and the Premier said: "I never said anything about the Navy or YAMAMOTO. I deny that I have ever said anything such as: 'Imperial Household Minister MATSUDAIRA is behind YAMAMOTO.'" Since the reply was such, I immediately called the Navy Ministry and told Captain TAKAGI this. I also called KIDO and inquired into the situation after the return of KONOYE, but KIDO said: "I have not met KONOYE as yet." I became very tired on the 15th and I returned to Oiso to recuperate.



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Chapter 292  
(21 September 1946)

New Party Intrigues Konoye

Translated by Lt. Larry Nishihara

On the morning of the 16th, I called KONOYE and inquired into yesterday's situation. KONOYE said: "The Prince seemed to be in very good health, but his legs did not appear to be very steady. He was very careful about his food. I wanted to speak with him longer, but I did not have the time and it was very regrettable."

On the afternoon of the 17th, I met the Navy Minister and the Vice Minister at the official residence of the Navy Minister. We discussed many things and Navy Minister YONAI said: "I cannot say that everything is working out smoothly within the cabinet, but then, there is no such thing as a gap between the cabinet members or that there is something wrong between UGAKI and others, as people are saying. Everything is very calm and things are proceeding in an orderly manner." Later I met KIDO and we discussed the general situation. There was nothing special to be mentioned that day.

On the morning of the 17th, I talked with Councillor SAWADA and he said: "Ambassador SATO told me: 'You will probably become the Vice Minister (Foreign Affairs) and if you are going to return, come prepared for that.' It seems as if everything is already settled." SAWADA concluded: "I shall immediately return to Peiping. If I ever become the Vice Minister, then I shall carry out a clean-up of the personnel."

Later, I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at the Palace and in the evening I was invited to the Seventh Anniversary of the Death of EMI Yoku at the Chuotei.

Early on the morning of the 18th, I left for Kozu and from Kozu, I boarded the train on which the Prince was to



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ride. I met the Prince at Gotemba and we reached Okitsu at noon. The Prince suffered from a very slight case of cerebral anaemia and I was quite worried for a while. However, it was only a slight case and did not become aggravated. Therefore, I stayed until the morning of the 19th and after things returned to normalcy, I went to Tokyo.

On the evening of the 19th, we had a reception for Dr. ODA Man together with a dinner of the Shinchikai at the Kinsui and I met various people there.

On the morning of the 20th, the Governor of Nagano Prefecture, OGURA came. He, MATSUDAIRA and I spoke together. The Governor told us of the preparations of the people of Nagano Prefecture for a long period of hostilities. He also said that the group labors of the middle school students had made a very favorable impression on the people of the farming communities. The farmers who had ill-feelings against the middle class families; that is, the intellectuals who were sending their children to the middle schools; began to show a spirit of cooperation and were very happy. Their savings were mounting at the rate of around 400,000,000 Yen. About 800,000 of these are males and the youths among them number some 400,000. Of these, around 40,000 have been conscripted and are serving at the front. The situation is that just 10% of the male youth population is away. The families of the soldiers at the front who are lacking in help are helping each other out and everything is progressing very smoothly. It seems as if the Governor desires that the administration proceed with a clear-cut and righteous plan.

At noon, the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, HORINOUCHI came. We had lunch together and we discussed many things. HORINOUCHI said: "Foreign Minister UGAKI is a very understanding man and does things very cautiously, but there is a need



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for more capable men around him."

In the evening, Ambassador ARITA came over and informed me of the conferences within the Foreign Ministry; however, they were all very indefinite and he returned after about two hours. He also said: "UGAKI is an understanding person, but we must aid him. I have not had the opportunity to speak with him as yet, but I plan to speak to him soon."

I (HARADA) had occasionally heard: "A new political party will be organized and the chief instigators of this movement are KAMEI Kamichiro, etc., and that AKIYAMA, AKITA and KUHARA have some relation with it. The main purpose of this was to open negotiations with the CHIANG regime and to conclude peace as speedily as possible. At any rate, the hastening of peace was their objective. This was a move to bring the general attitude to this point before the turning point in the administration's foreign policy." In any case, this gathering of men of bad qualities was troublesome and so I mentioned this matter to the Navy Minister the other day. He said: "I believe that KONOYE is aware of this and that he is to lead them temporarily. It will, however, be for a short time." I believe that it is bad to take over even temporarily. YAMASHITA, Kamesaburo's story is: "That is the story of the younger members of some political parties." I inquired into this matter and was told that 7,000,000 Yen would come from the Army. This money has been allotted to the new party, but it is difficult to tell whether this was for the purpose of setting up a one-party system.

When I met OTANI Sonyu, I asked him about this, and he said: "NAKAJIMA and his followers have initiated steps to make NAKAJIMA the President of the Seiyukai. If they want to do things their way, I believe that it would be better to let them." In any case, it is a fact that there will be various



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moves in political circles before the Diet convenes. I also spoke to OTANI about the vice-presidency of the North China Development Company and it was OTANI's opinion that KAMIMUCHI should be chosen. I then told OTANI: "From the standpoint of character and past experience, I believe that it will be a great success for you, if he is to become the vice-president."

In the evening, SAKAMOTO Shunzo, the former Commander of the Kempei-tai in Tokyo came over and said: "Around 1933, field grade officers, particularly those about Major Gen. ISHIHARA, advocated a world domination policy and of course, internal administration was also included. Looking at its contents, it has a socialistic trend and they are still trying to influence everyone according to that basic policy. Therefore, the more intelligent Army men must get together and beat them down now." He seemed quite concerned over this and he continued: "The documents for this, and the men to whom the documents have been distributed, will become known soon, so this matter should be investigated and if possible, reported to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. I believe that it would be better if this were reported to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal." SAKAMOTO was in the Kempei-tai for a long time and since he knew the conditions within the Army, he was concerned over this.

On the 22nd, I stopped in at the official residence of the Premier and met KONOYE. He was still very concerned over the matter of the central control organ for China. I told KONOYE: "I met KURODA, Nagatoshi yesterday and he was quite opposed to the reorganization of the House of Peers. KURODA said: 'The reorganization of the House of Peers is necessary, but there is no need for it to be carried out at the present when everything is in utter confusion.' Therefore, please



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tell KONOYE that I am not obstructing the reorganization of the House of Peers out of spite.'" I also told KONOYE: "When I met the Prince recently, I told him: 'When KONOYE met you recently, he did not have the time to speak with you at length and he thought it very regrettable.' The Prince was also of the same opinion. I understand that you visited HIRANUMA recently and that you talked for two hours; what were you discussing?" KONOYE replied: "We discussed the Civil Service Appointment Ordinance and the guarantee of status." I believe that there was some discussion on the matter of the organization of a new party and although there was no mention of this subject on the part of KONOYE, that is my idea.

I stopped in at KIDO's place and he said: "Men such as AKIYAMA and AKITA and also those of the Social Democratic Party such as KAMEI and ASO are participating in the new party movement. AKIYAMA and HIRANUMA are drawing closer together. If such men are to be included in this movement, the right-wing must also be allowed to participate or a complete merger cannot be attained. The right-wing dislikes AKIYAMA and has advocated that KONOYE become the leader, but there is no one to mediate. Therefore, although KONOYE has said that he would assume the leadership, he is not able to. If the situation is such, then this state of affairs cannot be solved and this is indeed troubling." It cannot be said that KONOYE has no connection with this matter and this also presents another perplexing problem. On the central control organ for China, KIDO said: "UGAKI has some selfish motives and this matter is not progressing very favorably. UGAKI is a very ambitious person and is very difficult."

On the 23rd, I was invited over by IKEDA and we discussed many problems. When the matter of the New Party Movement was



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brought up, IKEDA said: "It seems as if KONOYE intends to assume leadership. This is very troubling. I don't think that it will be of any use to lead such an organization. The right-wing is also troublesome. It is indeed regrettable that we cannot bring pressure to bear on them. The most difficult problem today is that of the central control organ for China because UGAKI is in the midst of it. This matter should be settled politically." IKEDA also seemed very happy because when he went to the Palace and made a report to the Emperor on various economic and financial matters, the Emperor asked questions which showed that he had understood the essentials of the subject.

When I met KIDO recently, he said: "The present Emperor has too much of the scientist in him and has no sympathy for the ideas of the right-wing. It is very troubling because he is too orthodox." It is my opinion that this is very unexpected and that it is a very desirable thing for the nation that the Emperor is of such an attitude and has taken such a stand. I also believe that it is a very suitable attitude for the Emperor to assume. It is very undesirable for the Emperor, of course, to sympathize with either the right-wing or the left. In reality, the right has no substance. All there exists are anti-foreign feelings such as the reverence of the Emperor, the expulsion of foreigners, loyalty and patriotism. They have no regular employment and no special knowledge. They are only thinking of driving others out by feelings alone. Their slogan is: "There are no others as loyal as we. There are none who think more of the Imperial Family." The present situation is that they are just boasting of their existence by such means, and there is no substance to be recognized as such. (Marginal note by Prince SAIONJI that he agrees with HARADA's views on this subject).



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From the 24th, I went to Oiso and Shizuura, and on the 27th, I went to see the Prince. When I mentioned the matter of the New Party Movement, the Prince said: "This matter of one party for one nation is rather silly. There is no need for the word 'party'. Although it is regrettable that KONOYE is to lead this movement which was initiated by men such as AKIYAMA, it would not do to stop him now. I believe that it is a matter for consideration as to just why KONOYE is to lead such a merger. In present-day Japan, government is very weak (an undertone) and there is no such thing as a gentleman's argument. There is only the conflict of small-minded persons and as for the political situation, well, there is no true understanding. It is really a sad situation, but there is no helping it. This is because the people's training was poor."

The Prince continued: "When KONOYE came recently, I said to him: 'I have not participated in the actual government recently, and I am not too well informed. However, there are things I desire and think of. However, by just mentioning them, I shall only cause you trouble and even should I desire their realization, they could not possibly be done under the present circumstances. Therefore, there is nothing to do, but to remain silent and observe matters. I am aged and do not have too much energy and it is an unavoidable situation.' When KONOYE visited me again, he said to me: 'The merchants of Osaka are very indignant and there is a strong anti-British feeling there because of the trade rivalry with British merchants in China who have pulled some shrewd deals.' From my way of thinking, this is natural. Speaking from a historical standpoint, England first acquired commercial supremacy in the areas around Shanghai and the Japanese entered this established field of commercial supremacy later and began



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competing among themselves. Therefore, since there is competition from this point of view and because there will be friction there, this is only a regional phenomenon. Consequently, it is not a very good thing to have the whole situation influenced by this and to err in the general policy of the nation. That is taking too narrow a view. This is really a perplexing problem." The Prince further said: "If I were in better health and had more energy, I would like to have an audience with the Emperor, but since matters cannot be done as I think, there is nothing to do but remain silent and observe the situation."

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The Prince also said: "For instance, the matter of Czechoslovakia concerning this problem. The trip by England's CHAMBERLAIN to Berlin, and the calm attitude of the people of both nations, show that although there was a certain amount of tension, they handled this matter calmly. By this cool attitude toward this incorporation, it is evident that their general political training is far superior to that of the Japanese. Looking at the present political meddling in Japan, it can be seen that the nation is being greatly swayed by the right-wing and the way I look at the matter, there has been some retrogression. There is no sign of advancement. It is exceedingly regrettable, but even should I express my opinions now, it would not be very good and I do not have the strength. Therefore, there is nothing to do but remain silent and observe matters. The atmosphere may change in ten or twenty years and a more advanced form of government may appear, but at the present time, there is nothing to do but to endure this." I felt sorry for the Prince, but I just said: "Then, I shall just remain quiet without saying anything," and left the Prince.

When I returned, I found that everything was quite



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unsettled because of the matter of the central control organ for China and so I called ARITA on the night of the 29th. He said: "This matter is no good because it is bad from its very foundation." MATSUDAIRA also said that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was quite concerned over the matter. MATSUDAIRA also seemed quite concerned over it and it seems to be a very difficult matter.

On the morning of the 28th, I called Ambassador SATO and inquired into the situation. SATO said: "First of all, a Central Chinese Board should be organized and should administer all Chinese affairs. If this board should take care of all these matters, then the Five Ministers' Conference would be relegated to the position of existing in name only. I intend to take this matter up with Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs HORINOUCI when I meet him."



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Chapter 293  
(1 October 1938)

Konoye Resignation Blocked

Translated by Lt. Larry Nishihara

I left and later met Gen. ABE. After I had related the story of the Premier, Gen. ABE said: "I spoke with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal for about six hours on the evening of the 26th, at his official residence. We discussed various matters concerning the Army and I explained the points on which the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was worried."

Later, I went to my firm and took care of business there. Since I had some business at a relative's place, I had dinner there. Then, there was a phone call from YAMASHITA saying that he wanted to see me. I replied that I would go to his firm at 2:30. When I reached his place, YAMASHITA said: "I met Gen. UGAKI yesterday. He had not come to my place in Oiso for some time now, so I asked him the reason for this. UGAKI replied: 'People are saying that there is some sort of odd connection between you and me. Because of this, I thought that it might prove bothersome, so I did not come.' I (YAMASHITA) then told UGAKI: 'Rumors from the Shanghai area have me considering using you as a figurehead for a money-making proposition.' This is extremely mortifying because I have been on intimate terms with Gen. UGAKI for thirty years and the fact that I am attempting to make money by using UGAKI as a figurehead had not even crossed my mind. I (YAMASHITA) also told UGAKI: 'It would be very troubling to be thought of as KOIZUMI Sakutaro was, so I will avoid all associations which will lead to such misunderstandings



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in the future. Please keep this in mind.' UGAKI also agreed with me. I was not asked to relay this message to you, but UGAKI very lightly said: 'I have become weary of it all and I would like to be excused.' It might be that he (UGAKI) is going to resign. I am very concerned over this affair." Although I (HARADA) considered the resignation of UGAKI as being out of the question at this time, I did not let this worry me.

I had an appointment to meet the Navy Minister at 3:30 and so I went to his official residence at that time. Adm. YONAI immediately started discussion on the Central Control Organ for China. However, I said: "There have been various rumors lately to the following effect: 'The scheduled attendance of the Navy Minister at the Commencement Exercises of the Naval Academy was dropped because of the uncertain attitude of UGAKI. Because of this, the matter of the Central Control Organ is not progressing favorably. When UGAKI was a Councilor of State, he expounded matters essential to the present problem of the Central Control Organ and he favored the proposals of the Army as if they were his own. However, since he has become the Foreign Minister, he has taken a completely opposite attitude and this is very inexcusable. They severely attacked UGAKI. To top off this resentment, the trip to Etajima was dropped and the Vice-Minister was sent in his place.' Such is the rumor and is there any truth in this?" Navy Minister YONAI replied: "No, there is no such thing as ill feeling between UGAKI and myself and neither have there been any conflicts. My trip to Etajima was cancelled because things are not progressing very favorably and because I



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thought that there was no particular need for my going there." I then said: "I just heard from YAMASHITA that UGAKI was getting sick of everything. Have you observed anything to this effect?" YONAI replied that he did not believe that it went to that extent.

I returned home and before I went to the meeting at the Suikosha that evening, I stopped in at KIDO's place. I inquired as to the China problem and KIDO said: "Matters have already been decided upon, so isn't that good enough?"

I then attended the meeting of the Alumni Association of the high school from which I had graduated. Later, I went to the home of Prince CHICHIBU from 8:30 as I had promised, and was granted an audience. We spoke for about two hours and during this time, the Prince asked: "Well, have there been any especially significant political problems?" I answered that there had not been. The Prince then asked how the matter of the Central Control Organ for China was progressing. I replied: "When I spoke to Ambassador SATO this morning over the telephone, he said that business matters were settled and that there did not seem to be any complaints from Foreign Minister UGAKI. Therefore, I believe that matters will be concluded successfully."

I (HARADA) continued: "The reason I asked for an audience with Your Highness this morning was because of two problems. The first is the matter of 'one party for the nation'. HIRANUMA is the power behind this and men such as AKIYAMA, AKITA and KUHARA; the field grade officers of the Army; and KALEI Kanichiro and ASO (Social Democratic Party) have gotten together and are saying:



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'Premier KONOYE should become our leader. In order to have the Cabinet safely conclude this session, we should give them our aid.' On the surface they are doing this. Although it is a fact that the existing political parties are impotent and that their quality is not good, men such as AKIYAMA and AKITA are more evil than they. Therefore, if they should have any connections with the field grade ranks of the Army, or with any part of the Army, it would be the same as if some germs were attached to the Army. Furthermore, if you should overhear anything of this nature and express your views on it, Your Highness' attitude will be immediately felt by the sensitive young officers. Because of this fact, if you should feel that it would not be well to have any connections with these men, it is necessary that you state your attitude clearly to them. On the other hand, if you were to take part in this 'one party' movement and agree with them, I believe that it will be a bad thing for the nation and society in general, as well as for the Army.

"The other problem is the Czechoslovakia problem. Of course, this is an European problem and I don't believe that it will result in war. However, should there be some misunderstanding and war should break out between England and France on one side and Germany and Italy on the other and should Russia also join in the fray, people might support Germany and advocate that Russia should be attacked and Germany aided because there is a strong anti-British feeling in Japan. I am not clearly aware of the present attitude of the General Staff Headquarters, but should there be any movement within the Army to support the idea that Japan must assert herself and



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further divert her forces at this difficult time, this would only serve to lead the nation into the depths of utter ruin. Such a thing is practically impossible with the present national strength. Of course, Your Highness must be aware of these facts, but your attitude at this time necessitates considerable caution. You must calm down the young men by saying that they must avoid all unnecessary wars. These are the two items that I wanted to speak to Your Highness about." Later, we discussed the political situation and other subjects. I left the Palace at around 10:30 and returned home.

On the morning of the 29th, I invited the Governor-General of Taiwan and Adm. NOMURA to breakfast. I went to my firm after 11:00 and had lunch there. I was working until about 2:00 p.m. when there was a phone call from Premier KONOYE. The Premier said: "The situation has become very grave. Moreover, UGAKI says that he wants to resign. There are a great many newspapermen at my official residence now. Please go to KIDO's home between 4:00 and 5:00 and learn the details from him." I immediately called the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and informed him of the fact, but by that time, an extra had come out to the effect that Foreign Minister UGAKI had presented his resignation.

That evening, I had invited Professor NISHIDA over for supper and KIDO and KONOYE were also to come. But, because of the resignation of UGAKI, KIDO and KONOYE were unable to come.

I had heard that the business affairs of the Central Organ for China had been settled and had thought that it was an odd story. Therefore, I was thinking of going to



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KIDO's place at around 4:00 or 5:00 when there was a call from KIDO. KIDO said: "I am going out now and I shall call you when I return. I would like to have you come over at that time."

There was also a call from MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, that the Lord Keeper wished to see me. I had planned on seeing KIDO first and then going over to see the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, but just then (6:00 p.m.) KIDO called and said to come over.

When I went to KIDO's place, he said: "UGAKI's action is inexcusable. He is very selfish and this present matter is not very good. KONOYE insisted that he would resign and I attempted to stop him but KONOYE would not listen. KONOYE is very strong in a passive manner and I am quite concerned over this." I (HARADA) then said: "It will be an inexcusable thing to the men and officers of the entire Army should KONOYE resign. It will also constitute an offense against the people at home. They have offered their fathers, their brothers and their sons for the Emperor, and are fighting for the nation by undergoing all sorts of sacrifices. Therefore, to have a political change occur at such a time, will not only affect the morale of the Army, but also of the people at home. It would not be the same if everything were normal now, but to have KONOYE resign so irresponsibly when things become difficult is out of the question. This would mean that KONOYE's future political life would be short-lived and would not only constitute an offense against the people, but to the Emperor as well. Therefore, it is a decidedly bad thing for him to resign."



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KIDO, of course, agreed with me and said: "I am going to KONOYE's place from now. I will relate your opinions to him." Won't you please call the Navy Minister and ask him to come to our aid? Finance Minister IKEDA seems to be sympathizing with the resignation of KONOYE, so please call him and have him stop KONOYE also."

I left KIDO's place and went to the Palace and spoke with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and also with MATSUDAIRA. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was quite worried and said: "KIDO was here awhile ago and I told him: 'It is out of the question for KONOYE to come out at this stage and say that he is going to resign. He must remain at his post for the sake of his Sovereign and the nation, and devote himself to his duty. To resign at such a time is very inexcusable because it is only to escape from personal difficulties. Just what effect would this have upon the entire Army? This must cease because it also constitutes an offense against the Throne.' I (Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) told KIDO to advance this view strongly to KONOYE. KIDO said that it would be very difficult and I am also very worried over the matter. I have also reported this to the Emperor. The Emperor said that they should make doubly sure of retaining KONOYE in office. The Emperor is of the opinion that KONOYE should be retained, but even if he tried to stop KONOYE, he would probably become more insistent on resigning and that would present a great problem." I (HARADA) then said: "No matter what kind of person KONOYE is, I believe that he would think it over if it was the desire of the Emperor."

I (HARADA) was further told that the Emperor had said:



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"Aren't there any means by which we can learn the opinions of the Genro?" I could not very well learn this over the telephone, and it would be too conspicuous if I went there in person. Therefore, I told them: "I don't believe that there is any necessity for that. If there should be anything such as a resignation en bloc and a second Imperial command to form a cabinet. The effect will be bad. Therefore, I believe that there is nothing to do but prevent a resignation en bloc and have KONOYE remain. I don't think that it is necessary to ask the opinion of the Genro because I think that the Genro is not in favor of a change in government at this time." The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal then said: "I have informed KONOYE through KIDO that the Emperor desires that KONOYE should not resign." I then said: "I believe that it would be permissible to report these facts afterwards to the Genro."

From the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal's room, I (HARADA) called Navy Minister YAMAGATA and Finance Minister IKEDA as I had been asked to do by KIDO. When I expressed my opinions to the Navy Minister, he said: "I agree with you. Yesterday, at around 3:00, I expressed my views on the subject to Premier KONOYE." I then told the Navy Minister: "You do not know KONOYE's character. You must push the matter to KONOYE. If once is not enough, then you must explain to him again. It is asking a great deal, but since KIDO is over there now, won't you please go there to aid him? If not, have even ITAGAKI go." The Navy Minister agreed to go there.

When I spoke to Finance Minister IKEDA about this matter, he said: "I keenly feel the responsibility of KONOYE regarding his reply to the Throne." I said:



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"That would be the case if this were under ordinary circumstances. There must be some reason for the resignation but under the present circumstances, this must be presented to the Emperor from a broad viewpoint and ask his apology. There is need of continuing in his present position. It would not be very unpleasant to have a political change at the present, even should there be another Imperial command." I explained this fact to IKEDA fully and he said that he understood and hung up. I (HARADA) went home immediately and as promised, I met Professor NISHIDA and Count ODA and we discussed various matters. Later, I called KIDO and he said: "I am doing my best now, but it is very difficult." I also called Prince TAKAMATSU and he said: "The resignation of KONOYE is out of the question. It would not be very pleasant to have internal unrest at a time when the United States is thinking of maintaining strict neutrality in the European situation as well as the China problem. Please tell KONOYE that I am also opposed to his resignation." Therefore, I had KIDO convey the message of Prince TAKAMATSU to Premier KONOYE.

At a little past 12:00, KIDO returned and called me. He said: "KONOYE has finally acceded and will not resign. Therefore, there is no such thing as disunity within the Cabinet. In his reply to the Throne, KONOYE will ask for forgiveness and say that since the situation is such, he would like to remain at his post." I immediately called MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and asked him to convey the foregoing facts to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal that night. I was also greatly relieved by this news and went to bed at around 1:00 a.m.



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Chapter 294  
(4 October 1938)

Successor to Ugaki Sought

Translated by Lt. Larry Nishihara

On the morning of the 30th, I went to the residence of Prince CHICHIBU and reported yesterday's incidents. I also told His Highness: "When Your Highness meets KONOYE, please encourage him and tell him that it was a good thing that he remained and advise him to do everything in a calm manner." I also told this to TAKAHASHI over the phone.

The Premier visited former Foreign Minister UGAKI at his home in Kunitachi that morning and paid his respects. At around 11:00, he went to the Imperial Palace and when he was received in audience by the Emperor, he asked forgiveness of the Emperor. It was decided that he would remain in office. The Premier had lunch at the Office of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and returned from the Palace after investiture as Foreign Minister and Overseas Affairs Minister, concurrently, were completed. After his return, he held a Five Ministers' Conference and also a Cabinet council. After all this was over, I (HARADA) visited the Premier at his official residence and told him: "It is a great inconvenience, but consider it as a matter of fate and please continue for awhile. It was a very good thing that you remained." To this remark of mine, KONOYE replied: "I insisted very strongly on the matter, but since there was so much controversy, it ended in this sort of situation. However, I still do not know the reasons for the resignation of UGAKI."



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In the afternoon, Vice-Minister HORINOUCI of the Foreign Ministry came and we spoke until evening. Vice-Minister HORINOUCI said: "Even though the problem of the China Board was settled, it seems as if UGAKI had intended to resign from before." However, the method of doing such a thing seemed quite unreasonable and I thought that this was rather odd.

Later, I met the Navy Minister and he said: "UGAKI's resignation is unreasonable. Although these are my own opinions, I believe that his reasons for resigning were: first of all, because of personal danger. Another might have been the idea that he wished to resign before any great failures on his part. It might also have been that although there had only been opposition from the Army previously, now the Navy and the Army had united and had opposed the Foreign Minister. I believe that this might have been the motive behind his resignation. There is no need for the Premier to concern himself over anyone who resigned with such mixed motives. I spoke to KONOYE about this very strongly yesterday." I also told YONAI that Secretary USHIBA had come over and told me: "The man who was greatly responsible for the stopping of KONOYE this last time was ITAGAKI. Last night, when ITAGAKI, YONAI and the Chief Cabinet Secretary were together, ITAGAKI called YONAI to a separate room and said: 'Do you intend to aid the KONOYE Cabinet? In other words, do you intend to aid Prince KONOYE?' YONAI had replied that he would aid him and the two had joined hands and had entreated KONOYE into compliance. By this attentiveness of ITAGAKI, it is shown that ITAGAKI was a man of considerable sense." When I related this to



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the Navy Minister, he laughed and said: "That story is quite the opposite. The truth is that when ITAGAKI and I were speaking in the presence of KONOYE, I told ITAGAKI: 'There is no end to talking so at random. Let us go to another room and talk this matter over and then present it to the Premier together.' Thereupon, I led the War Minister to another room and after we had discussed the matter thoroughly, we decided that we would halt KONOYE. It does not make too much difference which version it is, but those are the facts." Once again, I became aware that the propaganda of the Army was such and became very indignant.

I recalled that when KONOYE selected Gen. UGAKI as his Foreign Minister, Prince SAIONJI had said: "The record of a Foreign Minister is easily marred and it might be better to have him assume another position. It would be better to save him for some other post." When the Prince had said this, the Premier had already negotiated with UGAKI and UGAKI had already accepted. Therefore, it was too late.

In the evening, I invited the secretaries of the Premier to the Kuwana and we had supper together there. Late that night, I stopped in at KIDO's place and returned after attending the meeting of the 11th Day Society (Juichinichikai).

At 8:00, on the morning of the 1st, I went to the Navy Minister's place. The Navy Minister mentioned the question of a successor to the Foreign Minister and I said that ARITA might be suitable. On the way back, I stopped in to speak with Finance Minister IKEDA and he said that ARITA would be fine, but that it seemed as if



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KONOYE was not very much in favor of him. IKEDA also said: "It seems as if KIDO is also in favor of ARITA, but the fact that ARITA had spoken plainly to KONOYE still bothers him."

Later, I went to the firm and at lunch, Vice-Minister HORINOUCI of the Foreign Ministry came and said that the problem of the Central Control Organ had been settled and that a Five Ministers' Conference would be held. He was also sympathetic towards UGAKI.

I became very tired after that and rested for three or four hours at home. Just after supper, MIYAKE of the Supreme Court came and said: "The public is in sympathy with UGAKI. There is a considerable number who say that his actions were not unreasonable. This must also be conveyed to Premier KONOYE." I am intending to go to the Prince's place on the morning of the 3rd and make a report to him.

At 10:00, on the morning of the 2nd, I (HARADA) went to the palace of Prince TAKAMATSU as I had promised and made a general report on what had transpired. Prince TAKAMATSU, understood the problems well and was gravely concerned. Prince TAKAMATSU said: "I went to the Imperial Palace recently and that was the day after UGAKI had resigned. This was also when KONOYE was considering whether to go to the Palace or not. Therefore, I felt that I might learn something so I asked the Grand Chamberlain: 'When is KONOYE coming to the Palace?' The Grand Chamberlain replied: 'He is to stop in at UGAKI's place and then come. He might be a little late.' When I asked how everything was, the Grand Chamberlain replied that he did not know how everything was and it seemed



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as if he did not know. Of course, it is not a good thing for the Grand Chamberlain to interfere in politics, but he must, at least, be informed as to how certain matters are progressing, what problems the Emperor is most anxious over, and what international problems are the most important. Then, when he is suddenly summoned before His Majesty, he could at least carry on a conversation with him. In any case, I (TAKAMATSU) feel sorry for the Emperor.' I then told His Highness: "Prince SAIONJI has told me time and time again: 'Of course, it is not a good thing for the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Grand Chamberlain and the Imperial Household Minister to interfere in politics or to become involved, but it is necessary that they are well informed on all matters, or they will be of no use serving as advisers. Therefore, there is a need to speak to these three men thoroughly.' In spite of this, the nature of the Grand Chamberlain is such that he becomes overly excited over some trivial matter and there have been instances of that before. Therefore, I have been wondering of the advisability of this. From another point of view, Vice-Chamberlain HIROHATA dislikes my telling the Grand Chamberlain things and has often said to refrain from telling him anything. I have left the situation as such, but regardless of this, I believe that there is a necessity to tell him some things for the benefit of the Emperor. I will think the matter over and I would like to solve the points on which Your Highness is worried." After this, I returned to my home at around 12:00 and went to Shizuoka on the 3:00 o'clock train. I reached Okitsu that night.

Early on the morning of the 3rd, I called the Premier



### Successor to Ugaki Sought

and asked how the matter of the successor to the Foreign Minister was coming along. KONOYE replied that it was not decided as yet, but that it would be soon. Then, I told KONOYE: "There is no need for me to ask who he is going to be. However, before I go to the Prince's place, I want to ask: 'You are not going to make MATSUOKA or the like the Foreign Minister, are you?'" KONOYE replied that there would be no such thing and told me to be reassured on that point. I also called Finance Minister IKEDA and he said: "There was a Five Ministers' Conference yesterday, but we did not discuss that matter."

At 10:00 o'clock, I went to the Prince's place and made a complete report. The Prince said: "Well, KONOYE finally got weary of UGAKI, eh?" I also informed the Prince of the matter of the Grand Chamberlain which was discussed when I had been received by Prince TAKAMATSU. Prince SAIONJI said: "That is why I have been telling you that from before. I have been advocating that from the beginning, but no one has paid any heed. It is not a good thing to act willfully and trample on constitutional law, but if the Emperor desires to know something, it would be permissible to summon a vice-minister or a bureau chief. It would even be all right to summon a section chief. From one point of view, a section chief will be able to explain more fully because he is actually doing the work and knows more and might be better than a minister for the explanation. Of course, they would be summoned with the understanding of the ministers, but whether they be bureau chiefs or section chiefs, or whether they be young or otherwise, why can't the sovereign of the realm do anything about this. I have been



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saying such things from before but some have said that the Ministers will not be able to bear the responsibility, etc.; and they are thinking that the Ministers will not."

I also told the Prince that I had called the Premier and had asked him whether MATSUOKA would be made the Minister and that he had replied that there would absolutely be no such thing. To this, the Prince replied: "Since the Foreign Minister is very important, great care must be exercised in the selection of one. Regarding the solution of the political crisis in Europe, the public seems to think that England has yielded to Germany, but England holds the upper hand. The attitude of CHAMBERLAIN has really commanded my admiration. England is still England." The Prince was full of praise for the attitude shown by CHAMBERLAIN in the present case.

I stopped in at Oiso on the noon train and then returned to Tokyo in the evening. When I returned, I found that there had been a phone call from Vice-Minister HORINOUCI so I immediately called him. HORINOUCI said: "The Premier is to negotiate with the Ambassador to United States, SAITO, this evening over the telephone and the story is that SAITO is to become the Foreign Minister. It seems as if there is no objection from either the Army or the Navy. As for the Vice-Minister, SHIRATORI is vigorously recommending KURIHARA. However, not only is the reputation of KURIHARA rather bad within the Foreign Ministry, but since he has some faults, he is not being considered seriously. I don't believe that such a thing will come to pass."



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Chapter 295  
(7 October 1938)

Shiratori Rejected for Post

Translated by S/Sgt Jack Tashiro

I (HARADA) talked over the phone with the Navy Minister on the morning of the 4th, and the Navy Minister said: MATSUOKA or SHIRATORI will not do for Foreign Minister. Although they did not mention a possible candidate at the Five Ministers' Conference, it seems that the Premier is not inclined towards ARITA." Then I (HARADA) said: "As I have previously said, it would be unsatisfactory to have an irresponsible person like MATSUOKA." HORINOUCHI, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, came about 10:30 a.m. and said: "It is a good thing for the younger officials of the Foreign Ministry, especially those like the brother of USHIBA who returned from Germany, to report the conditions of the Foreign Ministry to the Premier thru USHIBA. However, they are circulating petitions urging SHIRATORI as the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Although the section and bureau chiefs realize that they should not allow such actions, there are about ten young members who think that SHIRATORI must become the Minister. These ten members are influencing the others with their enthusiasm and are encouraging them to nominate SHIRATORI. They have handed a petition of fifty names to the Premier. From the standpoint of official discipline, it is improper to hand such petitions directly to the Premier without going thru the hands of the Minister (not going thru proper channels). Not only that, but it is odd that the petition was accepted. Although it makes discipline appear bad, it is a fact that it reached KONOYE. Regarding this,



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the Ministry itself, or the Vice-Minister, should take strict measures against this but the Vice-Minister said that they don't even consider it a problem; but actually it is a problem."

While we were conversing, Ambassador ARITA came because he had an invitation to dinner and OGURA of Sumitomo interests also came so we all had dinner together. OGURA said: "Unless we import commodities from United States, such things as automobile factories will not develop. Although General Motors is trying to abandon their plants in Japan, we should have Japan take over the technicians and factories. Then, in two to three years, we shall be able to learn their technical skills. A domestic product, the Toyoda Automobile Co. has sent trucks to the battlefields, but they do not operate well. They (Army) are experiencing difficulties with these Japan-made trucks. We should settle the problem between the United States and Japan somehow. Although it is a good thing for the Army to promote the domestic product, there is much that Japan can learn from United States in regards to machine works, especially the automotive industry. Therefore, until we learn everything thoroughly, I hope that the problem between United States and Japan progresses for the better." I (HARADA) went home about 2:30 p.m.

About two or three days later, newspaper reporters kept me awake all night long with the question of who will become the Foreign Minister. On the evening of the 5th, the Chief Secretary announced that the Premier decided to appoint SAWADA as Vice-Minister and have him handle all the business although the Premier would hold



### Shiratori Rejected for Post

the post of Foreign Minister concurrently for the present.

Then, a little after nine on the morning of the 5th, I (HARADA) met the Vice-Minister of the Navy at the Navy Minister's residence and spoke to him about the Foreign Ministry. He said: "The other night, the Navy Minister said: 'The Chief Cabinet Secretary called me (Navy Minister) and said: 'Please consent to the appointment of SHIRATORI as the Foreign Minister.' I (Navy Minister) replied: 'I shall give my support to the appointment of any person whom the Vice-Minister of the Foreign Office recommends and whom the Foreign Ministry's staff should endorse as suitable. I don't know SHIRATORI personally; however, judging from what I hear from various sources, I cannot consent to his appointment.' Then the Chief Cabinet Secretary replied that it was very troublesome.'"

On the way home, I stopped over at KIDO's place and spoke with him. KIDO said: "I am disgusted with the Foreign Ministry. Their disunity is impossible. A few days ago, KONOYE summoned SHIRATORI and said: 'From the standpoint of the domestic and foreign situation, we cannot make you the Minister but who do you think is good?' SHIRATORI said: 'ARITA is the most unselfish and the best. Although his opinions differ from mine, he is the most suitable.' Although SHIRATORI says he (ARITA) is unselfish, KONOYE and I (KIDO) once had a laugh concerning this matter. When ARITA was to be appointed by the Emperor as a member of the House of Peers, he (ARITA) himself suggested that he wished to be appointed. If one is to consider this, he cannot be considered as being unselfish." I (HARADA) felt very much like arguing for ARITA because the circumstances surrounding the



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appointment by the Emperor was somewhat different. When the HIROTA Cabinet was about to resign, he (ARITA) was asked to become an appointee (to the House of Peers) but ARITA refused it saying that it was not good for a member of the Cabinet to be appointed by the Emperor. The understanding between the new Premier and ARITA was, that, he was to accept the appointment when the new Cabinet was formed. Therefore, when a vacancy occurred, he (ARITA) thought that he would be the candidate, but KATO Keizaburo was appointed. This was probably on the recommendation of HIRANUMA. ARITA would not have committed himself if there had been no previous mention of the subject, but since the present Premier had promised the former Premier such a thing, ARITA went to KONOYE and KIDO's place and asked them what had happened when matters took another course. He was not campaigning for the appointment and I believe that one cannot say he is greedy or selfish, but KONOYE and KIDO are saying that he is.

That night, I (HARADA) invited the Minister of the Imperial Household, and MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, to my home and we dined and conversed until about 11:00 P.M. I mentioned that Prince TAKAMATSU had said: "Unless the Chief Aide-de-Camp is aware of the situation, it is very distressing." I also said: "Furthermore, Prince SAIONJI has said that it is not good for men near the Throne such as the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Minister of the Imperial Household, and the Grand Chamberlain, especially the Minister of the Imperial Household and the Grand Chamberlain, to meddle in politics. But as



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Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, KONOYE's secretary, and Prince SHIAZU. I rested in the afternoon. On the morning of the 7th, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs wished to come and talk about various subjects.



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Chapter 296  
(13 October 1938)

Full-time Minister Needed

Translated by S/Sgt Jack Tashiro

On the morning of the 7th, Vice Minister HORINOUCHI came to my place and said: "I frequently tell KONOYE: 'You must have a full-time Foreign Minister and not hold two posts as you are now. You will not be able to stand it physically and since there is so much work, I doubt if you can handle it all. Not only that, but even if you are able to have SAWADA do your work as Foreign Minister, you have to meet the ministers and ambassadors stationed here so I think it better if you think this matter over.' KONOYE said: 'I will think about it,' and we parted. I still think that it is necessary for KONOYE to quit one of his posts." He (HORINOUCHI) seemed very worried about it.

After completing a little business at the firm, I sought the Governor of the Bank of Japan at his office, and since we had not met for a long time, we talked of various things. The Governor of the Bank of Japan said: "I hope KONOYE will settle down and do his duty."

On the evening of the 8th, I (HARADA) went to Oiso and the following morning I sought Finance Minister IKEDA at his home. He said: "The post of Foreign Minister must not be held concurrently. Unless there is a full-time Foreign Minister, the control of diplomatic missions abroad is impossible. I think it best to place a suitable person in the post of Foreign Minister, and although I think that ARITA is the most suitable, it seems



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that KONOYE dislikes ARITA. The younger officials of the Foreign Ministry obtained a petition of about 50 names recommending SHIRATORI. From the standpoint of official discipline, it is very troublesome. I also told my Vice Minister ISHIWATA: "At the Vice-Ministers' conference, Vice Minister YAMAMOTO of the Navy may or may not mention it, but Vice Minister HORINOUCHI must be encouraged and unless some steps are taken (petitioning) it may spread to the various ministries and from the standpoint of government regulations, it is very unfavorable. I think such things are very troublesome and insolent. It would be unfavorable to have KONOYE accept the presidency of the new party which is being formed, that is, by the AKIYAMA group. However, it seems that KONOYE is determined to do so if there is no alternative."

On the 9th, I (HARADA) went to Shizuura, and returned to Oiso on the 10th. Then, on the 11th, I sought the Prince at Okitsu. Just prior to this, I called KIDO on the phone and asked: "Is a new political party going to be formed? Is a merger of the political parties possible?" KIDO replied: "No, it will not develop into that. There is no leader for this and since it is a very troublesome thing, we cannot be bothered with them." The other day when I met the former Minister of Commerce and Industry, SAKURAUCHI, he said: "If the Premier should call on the old political parties to form new, MACHIDA and his group would say that they had been waiting for such an announcement and would start. However, we are troubled because of the uncertainty of the government's determination." I told KIDO that SAKURAUCHI had said this and KIDO said: "He (SAKURAUCHI) is always getting ahead of the story and it is very trouble-



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some. There is nothing new."

I (HARADA) accidentally met SUGIURA Takeo (Toho-kai) on the train. SUGIURA said: "No matter how often I ask for an interview, KONOYE will not see me. I think it is odd that we cannot see him and people like KAMEI can receive an interview. The reputations of all those close to KONOYE such as HIROTA, SUETSUGU and UGAKI have been injured and the Premier is the only one who is always popular and enjoys a good reputation. I do not think these conditions will last forever. I also think that a time will come when the Premier must take the whole responsibility for them. I hope KONOYE's new political plan will develop so that such things will not happen and that his reputation will not be injured. The conditions are such that, like the Emperor, KONOYE will not be able to resign. The danger to KONOYE is: if this plan matures for the better it will be very good, but if this plan takes a turn for the worse, then it will be very bad. At the present, KONOYE is telling the people to save their money, to take out life insurance, and to buy war bonds. Although the people appear to be happy in buying them, there is discontent and since it is a perilous condition, I hope that KONOYE will, in some manner, settle this problem." SUGIURA also said: "I also wish to meet KIDO." I replied: "I will tell both of them."

I sought the Prince and reported the latest information. Although there was nothing of importance, I told him of the conditions of the Imperial Household Ministry, the Minister of the Imperial Household, and the Grand Chamberlain. I (HARADA) said: "Regardless of the political situation ,



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those officials close to the Throne must be staunch and help the Emperor. Furthermore, they must give advice to the Emperor privately. For these reasons, I do not think that the Grand Chamberlain, the Minister of the Imperial Household and of course, the Chief (Military) Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor, are suitable. You (Prince) must consider this problem." The Prince said: "I wish that the Premier and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal would talk it over thoroughly and settle the issue. Let us also consider the issue very thoroughly." I replied that further consideration was necessary and returned home.

I returned to Oiso on the 10th and on the 11th, Cont. TAKAGI of the Navy came and said: "I would like to meet you. I am recuperating from an illness and I will go to Oiso." When TAKAGI came from Chigasaki, he said: "We are faced with two major problems today and that is the reason why I came here. The first problem is that the younger officials of the Foreign Ministry are saying that there is no such thing as a foreign policy, and are carrying out sabotage of a sort. The faction which is supporting SHIRATORI is also doing the same thing and say: "We must have a full-time Foreign Minister. The holding of an additional post makes control of, and contact with, diplomatic missions abroad, very difficult. If there is to be a full-time Foreign Minister, SHIRATORI is preferable." This is indeed a very distressing matter and the Navy is very concerned over it.

"The other problem is the fact that the Navy has a unit known as 'Naval Forces, Manchukuo,' in Manchukuo. The Army claimed that this was a hindrance and desired its withdrawal. In other words, the Army desired to organize their own unit on the river (Sungari) and oust



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the Navy from Manchukuo. There is a plot to realize this. It is a very distressing matter because Admiral TAKAHASHI, who was recently on a tour of North China and Manchukuo, concurred in this. This problem came up in a recent conference of the Navy General Staff Headquarters and I believe that it will be very unfavorable for this to succeed. The Navy is always watchful of the actions of the Army and consequently, the Army cannot do anything extreme. I believe that this is a very necessary measure."

Captain TAKAOGI continued: "It is not a problem which should be passed to higher officials yet, although it is one to be passed to the higher officials later. At the present time, this problem is being discussed at the Navy General Staff Headquarters and Prince TAKAMATSU is also participating in this. I wonder what the policy will be after the fall of Hankow? The United States Ambassador said to Premier KONOYE: 'If anything that is contrary to the Open Door Policy in China occurs then the United States will protest.' KONOYE said: 'Since there are many matters of internal administration, we cannot be considering each of these problems.' What do you (HARADA) think of it?" I (HARADA) replied: "Although I do not understand it well, I doubt if KONOYE said such a thing." Captain TAKAOGI said: "I hear there are movements to make TOKAWA the Vice President of the Supreme Court." I (HARADA) returned to Tokyo, I called up HORINOUCHI and it seems that the story about KONOYE and the American Ambassador is false. HORINOUCHI said: "It's just that the American Ambassador sent a warning and our government replied that we will be careful."



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On the evening of the 12th, a reporter who is the assistant political affairs section chief of the Tokyo Nichi-Nichi, an old acquaintance, came and said: "Concerning this new political party, it appears that SHIONO had contacted AKIYAMA and had cautioned him. Furthermore, he became friendly with MIKI Bukichi and also cautioned him. In these new activities SHIONO made some mistakes and he is very troubled over this. Furthermore, on the evening of the 10th, SHIONO invited persons such as KAMEI, AKIYAMA and TOYAMA and their wives to the Kazan Kaikan, saying that he will show a motion picture. However, about 20 to 30 persons such as ASOU Hisashi, KAMEI and AKIYAMA remained after that and talked about various things. The main thing was the meeting after the film and it is possible that he (SHIONO) deceived them and got them together. It is said that KIDO was there too." Since I (HARADA) did not know anything about the matter, I said: "Is that so?"



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Chapter 227

(15 October 1938)

Akiyama Versus Konoye

Translated by S/Sgt Jack Tashiro

On the afternoon of the 13th, I met the Navy Minister. I thought this was not the time to tell KONOYE or KIDO of this problem but I thought I would ask the Navy Minister as to his opinion. MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Privy Seal, came to my place during the afternoon and said that the biggest problem of the officials close to the Throne is that the Chief Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor seems to be working in the interests of the Army, consequently, no matter what the Emperor may order, he always twists it. In other words, he does not fit into the plan of passing on the wishes of the Emperor to his Army. For instance, when they were talking of using 2 divisions for the attack on Nanking, the Emperor asked: "Are 2 divisions sufficient?" The Chief Aide-de-Camp immediately replied; "Two divisions will be sufficient." However, it so happened that 2 divisions were insufficient in the attack on Nanking. The Emperor said; "Two divisions were insufficient, weren't they?" He replied; "But that was ISHIHARA's plan." He does not relay the things that the Emperor, that is the Commander-in-Chief, is worried about to the high command of the Army. Instead, he immediately replies to the questions on the spot. He is this way in everything. He does not relay the messages that are to be relayed and he does not relay the Army's wishes to the Emperor. He is not performing his duties as Chief Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor. Therefore, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Privy Seal said; "The immediate problem is not the Minister of the Imperial Household nor the Grand Chamberlain,



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but to try to change the Chief Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor for a better person. This is a very difficult problem. Regarding this point, those officials close to the Throne are very discontented."

I (HARADA) told the foregoing to the Navy Minister and he seemed to have the same opinion. He (Navy Minister) seemed to have heard this from Aide-de-Camp HIRATA. The Navy Minister said: "I should talk this over thoroughly with ABE. Then, he will caution the War Minister and Vice Minister, and they would acquire a man as quickly as possible. However, there is no one suitable in the Army and even if someone should emerge, it can be thought that he will take the same attitude considering the conditions of the Army as it is at the present. Anyway, we should make a thorough study of this problem. It is necessary to consider this very carefully." Then I (HARADA) told him a few things for him to keep in mind and went home.

AOKI Kazuo came after supper and said: "Before the organization and personnel of the Supreme Court is decided upon, officials such as the Chief of the General Affairs Department (of the Supreme Court) will be appointed. If these appointees are unable to participate in the subsequent discussions as to the organization and the personnel, the situation can be likened to that of accepting something which has already been set up. This would make it very difficult on the appointees and their feelings will differ. Please inform the Premier of this." AOKI, who had just returned from China, also said: "Due to the lack of troops, peace and order in the occupied areas are not progressing as they should." On the morning of the 14th, I sought Vice Minister of the Navy YAMAMOTO at the official residence



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of the Navy Minister and we conversed for about an hour. At about 11:00 A.M., I went to see the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and informed him of the latest happenings. He said: "The thing that worries me the most regarding foreign policy is the fact that Europe might become settled and although they might not make a joint intervention, they may unite and caution us. This is my big worry. In such an event, how will we prepare for it? We must prepare ourselves in case this does happen and I think it is necessary to consider all the possibilities. It is indeed regrettable that the government is not even considering this matter."

At noon, SHIRATORI, MATSUDAIRA and I had lunch at the Kuwana Hotel and since it was a farewell party for SHIRATORI, we conversed leisurely. SHIRATORI talked rather intelligently. He was grieved because there was no prominent figures in the Foreign Ministry. SHIRATORI said: "I will leave for Italy on the 10th of November." I said: "Anyway, instead of becoming the Foreign Minister now, I think it is better for yourself and for the public, if you went to Europe for 2 or 3 years and gained some experience."

I returned at 4:00 P.M. because BABA Tsunego was waiting at my home. BABA said: "Since KONOYE is not a living god, he must decide upon a definite policy and acquaint the people with this. He must also clarify his responsibilities. If his policy is not agreeable to the people, then he can resign. The people do not know of the future of Japan, when the war will end, or how. Such things are the causes for the uneasy atmosphere among the people. I hope you will explain this point



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thoroughly to Premier KONOYE." I said: "Why don't you meet KIDO and talk to him leisurely?"

At 6:00 P.M. I went to KONOYE's home in Ogikubo and we conversed on various topics. I asked him of his plan after the attack on Hankow. At the 5 Ministers' Conference, it seems to have been said that if CHIANG Kai-shek's government continues to exist after the attack on Hankow, we will rely on strategy and destroy it (Chiang's regime). They said this will strengthen the occupied territories but these policies are vague and unreliable. I also asked KONOYE: "Have you considered what we are to do if the various countries unite and send us a warning?" It appeared that he had considered this somewhat, but it also seems that no definite policy has been decided upon. KONOYE said: "If Japan should do anything counter to the open door policy of the United States, the United States would oppose us. Such instances have arisen in the present Tsingtao and Tientsin currency problems. When thoroughly investigated, it can be seen that the Navy was at fault. The Finance Ministry has cautioned the Navy. The Navy has realized its error and it is its plan to change its policy."

Then, I told KONOYE that AOKI had said: "It is better to decide upon the Chief of the General Affairs Section of the Supreme Court first and have him participate in the selection of the personnel and the organization of the Supreme Court!" KONOYE understood this. Regarding the personnel of the Foreign Ministry, KONOYE said: "SAWADA seems very appropriate and he seemed very happy about it. HORINOUCI seemed very happy about becoming the ambassador to the United States."



### Akiyama Versus Konoye

Then I said: "Regarding the attack on Canton, food and fuel will not come to Hongkong anymore because transportation lines had been cut. The foreigners, with the English as the nucleus might protest. In that event, Japan will send food and fuel from Taiwan and supply them so that they will be relieved. At the same time, it is proper for Japan to realize profit." KONOYE said: "I will think it over and will carry on with that intention." I then told KONOYE of the various comments that SUGIURA and BABA had regarding KONOYE for his reference.

Then, I (HARADA) told KONOYE: "I heard from KIDO about the meeting at Kazan Kaikan on the night of the 10th." KONOYE said: "I was deceived also. Anyway, the statements of KAMEI are very good and interesting." Then, I said: "I met SHIRATORI this noon and he said: 'It is very troublesome to have KONOYE on close terms with a person such as KAMEI,' and he too seemed very worried." KONOYE said: "Everyone's ability and character is different. The meeting at the Kazan Kaikan on the 10th was a plot on the part of KAMEI and AKIYAMA. AKIYAMA brought such persons as NAKAMIZO, TOYAMA and MIYAZAKI. I had never met MIYAZAKI Ryusuke before. Although I thought it impossible at the time this large group was there I was deceived into becoming the subject of unfavorable publicity for it was to appear as if a meeting was held later in a separate room. This AKIYAMA has seen much more of the world than even MIZUNO Naoshi. It's just that MIZUNO is active behind the scenes and he doesn't publicize the work that he actually does. He seems to be



#### Akiyama Versus Konoye

satisfied with merely being the man behind the scenes.

But, the trouble with AKIYAMA is that he has the ambition of becoming the Ambassador to China. He (AKIYAMA) says:

'I am the one who advises KONOYE,' and 'I am the man behind the scenes for the KONOYE cabinet.' It is very troublesome to have AKIYAMA say such things. Therefore I (KONOYE) have not let AKIYAMA assume complete responsibility regarding the problem of the political party.

AKIYAMA said: 'Let me take complete responsibility. You (KONOYE) do not trust me. You do not give me sufficient credit.' However I cannot have AKIYAMA assume the complete responsibility. HATOYAMA is the puppet of AKIYAMA and just before he (HATOYAMA) was going to go abroad, AKIYAMA had HATOYAMA tell me that he would come to pay his respects. HATOYAMA came over, a thing he had seldom done in the past and when I (KONOYE) told him about the good will between the United States and Japan, etc., he was very happy and he left. While he was traveling, he wrote to me often. This is a very odd thing but AKIYAMA is behind it all.

"Furthermore, SAKURAUCHI (Minseito) is also a puppet of AKIYAMA. From AKIYAMA's standpoint ARAKI and SUETSUGU are insignificant. The other day, AKIYAMA met KIDO and AKIYAMA said, that KIDO is too conservative. Furthermore, AKIYAMA and KUHARA are not very desirable. The Kempeitai have warned KUHARA that AKIYAMA is on the suspect list. On the other hand, a portion of the Army is attempting to restrain AKIYAMA. The Kempo were suspicious of AKIYAMA and said: 'The reason why AKIYAMA is doing his utmost in ending the Incident is because he is receiving money from CHIANG and AKIYAMA is an agent for China.' This had great effect on the Army and it made them take precautions against AKIYAMA.



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The other day, when the Chief of the Metropolitan Police went to see KUHARA at his place, KUHARA had an opinion similar to that of the Kempei and he did not have a very good impression of AKIYAMA. It seems that AKIYAMA is receiving about ¥60,000 from MITSUI every year. AKIYAMA and OZAKI Yukio are very close friends. ARIGA had close connections at MITSUI with AKIYAMA. Even after ARIGA died, it seems that MITSUI Hachiroemon and ARITA had some direct relations because AKIYAMA is receiving living expenses from MITSUI. Since ISHII Kikujiro is a classmate of AKIYAMA, it seems that they still consult each other on diplomatic problems. AKIYAMA is praising ITO very much. AKIYAMA is a hard person to deal with and since I (KONOYE) have dealt with MIZUNO on the various duties of the House of Peers and on various political problems, it is very distressing the way officials such as GOTO Fumio and KAWARADA do things. It is strange because I am interested in it." Since KONOYE is dealing with AKIYAMA, fully recognizing all the dangers, I (HARADA) was somewhat relieved, but I am very worried about the future. Then, I returned home.

During supper, KONOYE was quite active and he ate and drank a great amount. Therefore, I (HARADA) gathered that KONOYE was quite healthy and I was relieved. I (HARADA) returned home.



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Chapter 298  
(21 October 1938)

Konoye Wants Yuasa's Post

Translated by S/Sgt Jack Tashiro

On the morning of the 15th, I (HARADA) sought the Navy Minister and told him the general trend of the conversation that I had with KONOYE. Although at a conference of the members of the Supreme War Council, he (Navy Minister) did not criticize the movement for a new political party too much, he was not happy about it either. His opinion was that since there was a ready-made political party, why not make use of it and have the people follow the government. The Navy Minister has not placed much weight on the Rightists. It was frequently noticeable that he was insinuating that Premier KONOYE was placing too much weight on the Rightists.

Then, from the 15th, I (HARADA) went to Oiso for two or three days. On the 18th, I went to Okitsu where I told the latest to the Prince. I also mentioned the problem of a new political party that KONOYE was talking about and the conversation I had with AKIYAMA. The Prince was looking very healthy. Then, I returned home. Regarding the attitude of the Emperor that I had taken down in my previous notes, the Prince said: "I feel the same way. You wrote down exactly what I wished to say so I am satisfied."

I returned to Tokyo on the 20th. His Highness, the Prince FUSHIMI Hiroyoshi had died so I went to offer my sympathy. Later, I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal in the morning at the Palace, and I told him the latest news. I stressed the point that the Prince had



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stated that he was of the same opinion.

When I (HARADA) went to the Tokyo Club for lunch, Ambassador OBATA and Ministers ITO and YADA were there. During our conversation, it was said that Minister YADA had gone and returned from Hong Kong, Shanghai and vicinity at the request of the Foreign Ministry. YADA said: "I met the Governor General at Hong Kong and the Occidentals are saying: 'We cannot figure out why Japan thinks ill of Germany and England.' The foreigners are also saying, regarding China: 'We cannot understand why Japan ignores CHIANG Kai-shek. Isn't it better to take sides with CHIANG Kai-shek who has much power in China and have him suppress China instead of doing things which makes CHIANG an enemy of Japan?' Then, we all discussed the fact that the rifles and ammunition that have gone to Hong Kong and Canton are mostly from Germany. Therefore, even if Japan is in favor of Germany, it is these rifles and ammunition from Germany that kill our soldiers. When one considers this, it leaves a bitter feeling. Although the relations between Germany and Japan have become more favorable recently, the exporters from Hamburg are expressing their anti-Japanese feelings because Japanese commodities are flooding their market. On the other hand, the Japanese are trying to win the favor of the Germans and the Germans are trying to keep from getting friendly with the Japanese. Just as relations between England and the United States are indivisible, there is racial discrimination between the white and yellow races in Europe. Therefore, it is a mistake for the Japanese to believe that relations between England and Germany are bad. No matter what is said, the



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relations between Germany and England are close. Furthermore, it has been the case from long ago, that every time Englishmen saw Frenchmen, they wanted to harm them in some manner but they had close relations with the Germans. Therefore, I think it is impossible to make ties with Germany and refuse England. We must consider this point very carefully." I (HARADA) was very interested in the conversation that took place after YADA went home.

Then I asked KIDO the condition of the new political party over the phone and he said: "It is very complicated. Although SHIONO and SUETSUGU are working hard by laying the foundations for this new political party, it is very inconvenient for them to be thinking that they will be fooled by AKIYAMA, so we must do something at this time. We do not even know if KONOYE will be in favor of this new political party and KONOYE's determination cannot be thwarted. It is very distressing." It appeared that KIDO had this neutral attitude and was making a study of this problem with the two Ministers. However, the newspapers said: "KONOYE will make a new political party any day," and had it written very plainly.

I went to the Kuwana that night and had supper. I knew that MAEDA had invited KONOYE for supper to the Horyu with a few other friends, so I (HARADA) asked KONOYE if he would not stop over on the way home. KONOYE said that he would stop over and he dropped in just before 11:00 p.m. that night. While we were conversing, KONOYE said: "There is a problem that I am thinking about very earnestly. I am very troubled with this new political party. If we do form a new political party, there is little hope that it will be a success, but



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still, we will not be able to dissolve it. At any rate, we must form some sort of a coalition or, else the government will not be able to pass this crisis."

I (HARADA) said that the other day the reporter for the political department of the Asahi came to my place and said: "Then I went to HIRANUMA's place, HIRANUMA said: 'We are encouraging KONOYE to form a coalition. The public is saying that I (HIRANUMA) am too independent and that I am disobeying the Imperial Command to become the Premier, and that I am insolent. Actually, there never was an Imperial Command for me to become Premier. Previously, when UGAKI was to receive the Imperial Command to become the Premier, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal YUASA came to me and said something but he did not say anything definite. If he (YUASA) had said something about an Imperial Command to have me become the Premier, and if I had refused, then I could not hold this position as President of the Privy Council. I was not thinking of such things. If an Imperial Command for me to become Premier is issued, then I would sacrifice myself for the public service.'" It seems that HIRANUMA has a secret plot to have them form a coalition and by using this, he can become the Premier. Superficially, it appears that he is not in contact with AKIYAMA but actually, he is encouraging AKIYAMA. It appears that he has very good contacts. Considering all these angles, if this new political party is formed it means that KONOYE will become a puppet of HIRANUMA. If this should be beneficial to the nation, then it is satisfactory. However, there is much doubt whether this will benefit the nation. Some people are saying: "It is very



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regrettable that KONOYE who has a bright future should be trampled down." I (HARADA) told KONOYE that other people are saying: "It is fine if KONOYE is trampled down." KO KONOYE seemed to understand this and said: "I think it was HIRANUMA who had the article about a new political party written in yesterday's or this morning's edition of the Asahi. Instead of saying that HIRANUMA had them write it, I think that he is the one who wrote the article regarding the problems of a new political party. I haven't the courage to cope with the new political problems and if I take the responsibility for the new political party, I think it will be difficult. Therefore, I actually dislike it but if I say that I dislike it, it will not be good. Therefore, I am just keeping it in mind. The Chief Secretary said: 'It probably doesn't have to be formed this month.' SHINO and SUETSUGU said: 'The government must decide upon a policy sometime this week and we must have the Premier make a clear cut determination.' If I show a definite attitude, then I can ward it off a little longer."

Furthermore, KONOYE said: "If I should resign now, a political change will occur, and it is not good for either domestic or foreign problems. It is troublesome for them to think that I wished to resign. I thought there might be a way to solve this problem so I made a study. If the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal really wishes to resign, then I will change posts from the Premier to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. When the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal quits, and if it becomes necessary for me to become the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, then I will have Navy Minister YONAI become the



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Premier and carry on. If this is possible, that would be the most desirable for me. What do you think of it?" I (HARADA) said: "I think you should talk it over with MATSUDAIRA Yasumasa and you will probably have to talk to KIDO about it also. I think I should call MATSUDAIRA." Then, KONOYE said: "Let us go to your home in Sendagaya."

I summoned MATSUDAIRA Yasumasa to my place about 11:00 and the three of us conversed on various subjects. MATSUDAIRA said: "We must pretend that KONOYE has nothing to do with this problem and that KONOYE knows nothing about the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal withing to resign. From this, the Emperor may have his ideas and say: 'There is no one for the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Bring the Premier.' Wouldn't this be the best step to take? We must consult the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal about this too. Furthermore, I wish to think it over."

I also told KONOYE: "It will be unpleasant both from the political and diplomatic standpoint, to have the Premier show the attitude that he is performing his duties unwillingly. If you are to fulfill the duties as Premier, then you should put all your efforts into it or resign. If you should resign now, you will be considered a national criminal, and you will have no future as a statesman. Instead of considering the future of your political life, it is disadvantageous to the nation to have things in a muddle at the present time."

Furthermore, I (HARADA) think it is better not to form a new political party. Even if one consider the established parties as being worthless, it will only serve to deteriorate Japan's government to have all sorts



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of people appear as politicians in this new political party. I did not mention this to KONOYE and I believe that it might be a good thing if it became impossible to form such a thing. The other point is that although the public is uninformed, it is asking a great deal to have KONOYE carry on against his wishes. It is not good from the standpoint of politics to have KONOYE as a puppet and in that state of mind. If YONAI is made to succeed KONOYE as KONOYE says, here is a possibility that there will be better government. Considering all angles, I thought it better if MATSUDAIRA discussed this with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and have them solve this problem without informing KONOYE and the rest. And I (HARADA) am planning to report this to the Prince immediately. If I were to discuss this with the Prince, the Prince (SAIONJI) would only be troubled with the problem so I thought it better if I consulted the Emperor as the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal suggested. Then, after finding out the wishes of the Emperor, it should be discussed with the Prince.

KONOYE left at a little past 1:00 p.m., and said that he must talk to KIDO about this because of past dealings. He (KONOYE) was saying that he will talk to KIDO before the cabinet council of the 21st. Consequently, I went to KIDO's place on the morning of the 21st and told him: "KONOYE may say such and such to you." I merely expressed my opinions on that subject.

I (HARADA) dropped in at the official residence of the Navy Minister and although the Navy Minister and the Vice-Minister were discussing the new political party, I did not touch upon the problem. I did mention slightly



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that KONOYE was not in favor of this new political party, but I did not mention the conversation we had the other night.

When I came to the firm, I called MATSUDAIRA on the phone and I told him about the conversation that I had with KIDO. MATSUDAIRA said: "That is fine. It was good that you talked to KIDO before KONOYE did."



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Chapter 299  
(27 October 1938)

Saionji Opposes Kono's Desires

Translated by S/Sgt Jack T. Shiro

On the morning of the 21st, I went to the Palace and met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Although I am going to the Prince's home tomorrow to tell him the story that I heard from MATSUDAIRA about KONOYE, I thought it would be better if I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal myself and told him what I am planning to tell the Prince. Therefore, I said to the Lord Privy Seal: "What MATSUDAIRA told you yesterday, was only considered from KONOYE's viewpoint. If we should consider this from the Emperor's point of view then I am afraid that the Emperor will feel rather forlorn. At the present, those close to the Throne are the Minister of the Imperial Household, the Chief Aide-de-Camp and the Lord Privy Seal. The Minister of the Imperial Household is as he is and although the Chief Aide-de-Camp is a good person, the Emperor cannot rely upon them too greatly. That leaves only you, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, whom the Emperor can rely upon for advice. When KONOYE considers whether you, as the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, are substantially dependable or whether you can be relied upon by the Emperor, then he becomes fearful. Therefore, we are sorry that we are only considering this from KONOYE's standpoint. However, from the standpoint of the Emperor, if the Minister of the Imperial Household and the Chief Aide-de-Camp were more reliable, it may be fine to have KONOYE become the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. I am leery because of this and when I met KIDO recently, he said: 'It is very complicated even



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if we have the tendency to become Rightists, we may lose the respect of the Emperor! KIDO was very worried about this point recently. Therefore it will be troublesome unless you consider this very frankly. I wish to report to the Prince and tell him all the actual facts sometime."

Then, on the evening of the 22nd, KONOYE, MATSUDAIRA, KIDO and I had supper at the Kinsui and we conversed on the various problems. KIDO said: "If the new political party is in such a condition, then we should hurry and get out of this predicament or it will be too late. This is in spite of the fact that we have been encouraging SUETSUGU and SHIONO until now. It is very troublesome."

KIDO continued: "Yesterday, KONOYE and I had lunch. When I returned home, SUETSUGU and SHIONO were waiting for me. They said: 'Has the Premier made up his mind about forming a new political party yet? How does the situation appear?' KONOYE had already said: 'I'm afraid that SHIONO and SUETSUGU are saying that civilians are lacking in manly resolutions and that they are disgusted because I cannot make up my mind.' So KONOYE has beaten them to the punch. I told them: 'Ever since I was a child, I (KIDO) have been friendly with KONOYE. So, no matter what I say, he does not listen. Therefore, why don't you two complain to him?' Then, SHIONO and SUETSUGU said: 'Since it has developed to the problem of a policy for the new political party, we had been planning to work steadily ahead.'

"ARIMA was there just at that time, and he said: 'KIDO has been friendly with KONOYE since their days at the Peers' School and persons one has known since their school days just don't listen. Why don't you two go right



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away as KIDO says?' That afternoon, SHIOMI and SUETSUGU sought KONOYE and urged him to reach a decision promptly. Then I (HARADA) asked KIDO what happened after that and KIDO said: "It is very troublesome to have SHIOMI and SUETSUGU feel like that."

KONOYE, KIDO, MATSUDAIRA and I had dinner at the Kinsui in Koji-machi that night, and the same conversation arose. KONOYE laughingly said: "I argued so convincingly today that they said: 'We shall think it over further,' and went home." Then I (HARADA) said to KONOYE: "You must treat this matter of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal very carefully for if you get that post and the Army or the Rightists make a puppet of you, it would be terrible. Think it over very carefully." KIDO and MATSUDAIRA seemed to feel the same way. Since I was to leave on the 9:19 P.M. train for Oiso, I left the group.

I visited Finance Minister IKEDA at his villa in Oiso the following day at 9:00 A.M. He said: "We must have a Foreign Minister immediately, and I think that AOKI, Kazuo is suitable as Vice Chief of the China Affairs Board. Will you mention that to KONOYE?"

I called MATSUDAIRA on the phone Monday morning and said: "Call the Premier on the phone and tell him that when I (HARADA) met IKEDA, he said: 'It is better to appoint a Foreign Minister right away and that AOKI is suitable as Vice Chief of the China Affairs Board.'"

On the morning of the 25th, I went to see the Prince and I told him the complete story regarding KONOYE's problems. The Prince said: "There is no logic to the story."



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I cannot understand it at all. Although this is just between us, think it over. It must have been very trying for KONOZE to have to continue in office and I sympathize with him there. However, it was only due to the support of the Army that he was able to do so. Therefore, if he were to become the Lord Privy Seal, the Army's influence would extend to the Palace and that is a vexing matter. Although the Army has influence in all administrative affairs, we hope to keep the Army influence out of the Palace. Tell this only to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. I am opposed to having KONOZE as the Lord Privy Seal. Therefore, if KONOZE wishes to resign, it is better for him to do so and retire. The general public today is far advanced and better informed than that of yesteryears and they are able to detect any petty schemes and I think that KONOZE should not do such things for his own good. If the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal should resign and KONOZE takes his post, then I am sure that the public will think that something crooked has taken place. Therefore, if KONOZE wishes to resign, he must acquit himself completely so that the people will not consider him irresponsible. Then after the capture of Hankow, he should await the opportune moment and resign honorably. I also think it is irresponsible to make KONOZE keep his responsible position when he dislikes it so much. It is very irresponsible of a person to do something that he dislikes, and at the same time, it is very irresponsible to make him do something that he dislikes. Will you please tell KONOZE: 'SAIONJI was saying that if you wish to resign, the Prince thinks it is better if you quit like a man. It is not good for your future to resort to trickery. The Prince thinks it



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better if you wait for the appropriate time to resign so that people will not consider you irresponsible.' I (Prince) do not think you should tell KONOYE and his group that it is not good to have KONOYE in a position near the Emperor. Just mention this to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal." I (HARADA) apologized and said: "I was also worried about that and when I told that to KONOYE, I thought that you (Prince) would say what you just have. I have great responsibilities in this matter and I am very sorry." When I (HARADA) consider whether it would be good to have KONOYE as the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and whether it is good from the Emperor's standpoint, it is exactly as the Prince said. In other words, I thought that we must be very careful so that we will not begin mixing public and private matters. Then I (HARADA) said to the Prince: "I understand completely."

I (HARADA) went home on the 'Fuji' that day and met the Chief Secretary to the Lord Privy Seal and the Lord Privy Seal. I relayed the opinion of the Prince and the Lord Privy Seal said: "It is exactly as the Prince stated. I had secretly been thinking along the same lines." I (HARADA) said: "The Prince told me to tell you not to resign your post until you die. Serve the Emperor faithfully." The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal understood perfectly.

The Prince had also said: "If YONAI is suitable for the post, then I think YONAI will do." When I (HARADA) said: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was saying that he wished to come over to confer with you on the various problems", the Prince had replied: "Even if he comes now, I do not know all the actual facts. Furthermore, I will not know how to give



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advice so I will be troubled. If he shall come to my place now, it will only serve to excite the public and it will be troublesome. Therefore, I think it best to wait a little while." I (HARADA) conveyed this conversation to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

I (HARADA) stopped in at the official residence of the Premier and I told KONOYE what I was supposed to tell him. KONOYE said: "I understand very clearly. I will do as the Prince says and wait for the appropriate time."

I met KIDO at the Kuwana that night and we leisurely conversed about various things. I also expressed the opinions of the Prince. KIDO also talked of internal conditions. And I returned home late that night.

When I had met KONOYE previously, he had said: "I wonder if I should appoint SAWADA as the Foreign Minister. I wonder how it would be?" Naturally, it will be said that they appointed SAWADA because they were desperate for someone. I (HARADA) think it is too early for SAWADA to take that post and although I think that TANI is more suitable for the position, I did not give a distinct reply to the Premier (KONOYE) and departed.



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Chapter 300  
(28 October 1938)

Kamei Bruits Party Plans

Translated by T/Sgt Tadashi Kishishita

On the morning of the 26th, I met Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs SAWADA at his office. Having heard that Japanese airplanes attacked British gunboats at Changsha, I stopped by for a few minutes wondering what the result was. I found out definitely that the nature of this incident was not serious. I felt relieved so I started to return home. At that time, SAWADA said: "Yesterday the Prime Minister said to me: 'Won't you like to try?' He seemed as he were joking." Then I (HARADA) said to him: "If you have any confidence in yourself, it is all right to be the Minister, but if I were you, I'd have TANI or some other person take it. First of all, carry out your duties as the Vice-Minister. As far as this matter is concerned, there is no need for such haste. I'm giving my opinions to you because you are my close friend and I thought it might serve as reference for you. This does not necessarily mean for you to do so, nor that it is better." SAWADA said: "Thank you", as if he understood.

I had some urgent business to attend to so I went to Oiso and returned at 4 o'clock of the same day. I had an engagement for dinner at 6 o'clock with the President of the Bank of Japan; OTANI, the former Minister of Overseas Affairs; both the President and Vice President of the Hypothec Bank; the Chairman of the Far East Colonization Co. Ltd.; Count KODAMA; and Foreign Vice-Minister SAWADA. We dined and talked leisurely that night at my home and parted at about 10:00 p.m.



### Kamei Bruits Party Plans

On the morning of the 27th, GOTO Fumio and KARASAWA came to visit and told me about the present political parties and problems. IZAWA phoned me the night before last and said: "I heard from some influential person that you are very serious about establishing a new political party. Is it true?" I (HARADA) said: "That is something I never dreamed before. I think it is better not to do half-hearted work." IZAWA said: "Is that right? I am relieved." After considering the matter I remembered that when I met SAKURAUCHI (Minseito) on the train, he eagerly discussed the new political party. During all that time, I listened quietly. I arrived at the conclusion that this was related to IZAWA. I phoned GOTO and mentioned this matter to him.

At 11 o'clock, I called at Navy Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO's residence. He said: "KAMEI Kanichiro came to see me this morning. KAMEI said: 'The new political party which is to be established in the near future is KONOYE's personal plan. That is why I was sent to Germany by KONOYE to study that nation's political system. Thus, the new political party will be established based on the scheme of KONOYE. I was told to take charge of this matter. ASOU Hisashi, who is in the same political party with me, AKIYAMA, AKITA and others have been visiting KONOYE. They are nothing but common workers and I am the only one who is KONOYE's personal executive official. As a matter of fact, it is my responsibility alone to materialize KONOYE's plan. The political party plan and such like presented by the members of the Cabinet, SUETSUGU, SHIOWO and KIDO are entirely different from that of the Premier's. Therefore, the Premier



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is really dumbfounded. The original objective is to find out to what extent we can harmonize both the planned economy and the living conditions of the Japanese people. The result of this harmonization has a great effect on the raising of war funds. Thus, at the present, I am eagerly promoting all related matters for KONOYE. I came here to mention that the work, which SHIONO, SUETSUGU and KIDO are doing, is not the Premier's desire."

The Vice Minister is a very understanding person and he said: "This fellow is going around and spreading something that is not so." I said: "Of course, it is as you say. There are some differences regarding what SUETSUGU and SHIONO are doing. However, it seems that KAMEI is the only one who is KONOYE's sole executive. The plan for the new political party which is presented by KONOYE, himself, is an entirely unconfirmed story. Of course, this plan is the one being put forth by such schemers as AKITA and AKIYAMA. It seems that the plan is supported by the various rightist elements at the present. In fact, KONOYE merely listened and paid no attention to that matter. Such an attitude has resulted in the present situation. In short, there are many who are swayed by KAMEI's efficient propaganda. We must be careful."

I met ARITA that afternoon. I was asked by KONOYE to feel out what the opinion is in regard to making SAWADA the Foreign Minister. So, I mentioned this to ARITA. ARITA said: "After all, I don't want to say too much about it, but no matter who takes the post, it will be entirely up to the individual. It is certain that he will be criticized. Therefore, it would be regrettable to make



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a capable person like SAWADA the Minister now. In fact, SAWADA may be capable as Vice Minister but not as Minister. He is not an outstanding character like KOMURA or MUTSU. If SAWADA is made the Minister of Foreign Affairs, then the importance of the Foreign Ministry will become as negligible as though it was just part of a bureau. Because the course of the Foreign Ministry has been unsatisfactory up to now, the public thinks that the office of Foreign Minister should be filled by someone outside the Foreign Ministry. I understand that point quite well. As a matter of fact, there may be some things which we, as former members of the Foreign Ministry, cannot accomplish. For instance, I think that it will be good to have improvements made by such politicians as UGAKI. But, if that cannot be done, then no matter who becomes the Foreign Minister, it would be useless. There is too much dissatisfaction with the Foreign Ministry already; therefore, at this time, I think it is better to have someone other than from this Ministry. I think MATSUOKA is the right man for it. If this could not be done, it is all right to choose from among the ambassadors. I'm afraid that the public would think such an act is irresponsible and I think that the irregular policy may hinder KONOYE's purpose."

At about 4:30 p.m. I met the Premier, who had been received in audience, at the office of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal in the Palace. I told him of the things, about KAMEI that I had mentioned to Vice Minister YAMAMOTO, and also about ARITA's opinion concerning the Minister of Foreign Affairs. It seemed that KONOYE's opinion was absolutely the same as ARITA's. KONOYE said: "I wonder if ARITA



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would take this post." I presumed that ARITA did not have any intention of accepting this proposition. KONOYE's desire is to have ARITA or MATSUOKA. KONOYE mentioned, at the time: "Finance Minister IKEDA said that he wishes to resign from the additional post of the Minister of Commerce and Industry. At the present time, that is under consideration. In IKEDA's opinion, he figured that KAGAMI Kenkichi is the suitable man for it and said eagerly: 'I wish he would accept this position.' I intend to supplement the Minister of Overseas Affairs. I'm thinking of asking MATTA." So, I (HARADA) said: "This time, the selection of men is very satisfactory isn't it? It is better to take prompt action." We parted on that.

SAIONJI Hachiro came to visit me at night and we had a quiet dinner together. After the meal, at 6:30 p.m., upon hearing the radio news, we drank a toast to the fall of the three fortified towns (Wuchang, Hankow, Hanyang).